THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 2008-2009 Contd.

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी (बिहार): माननीय उपसभापति जी, मैं अपनी ओर से और अपने दल की ओर से वित्त मंत्री जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत सामान्य बजट का समर्थन करने के लिए सदन में खड़ा हुआ हूं।

महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण के प्रारम्भ में ही कहा है कि भारत के विकास की दास्तान अब तक एक दिलचस्प और प्रेरणादायी दास्तान रही है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि तीन वर्षों, जनवरी, 2005 से दिसम्बर, 2007 तक अर्थव्यवस्था में 8% से अधिक की वृद्धि हुई है। सकल घरेलू उत्पादन में औसतन 8.8% की अभूतपूर्व वृद्धि दर हासिल हुई है। मौजूदा वर्ष में भी यह वृद्धि दर 8.7% होगी, जिससे 8.8% का औसत बना रहेगा।

महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह भी कहा है कि सेवा और विनिर्माण क्षेत्र इस वृद्धि के सूत्रधार हैं, जिनमें क्रमशः 10.7% और 9.4% की वृद्धि होने का अनुमान है। मगर वित्त मंत्री जी ने कृषि क्षेत्र के बारे में जो बात कही, उसने मुझे बहुत निराश किया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि कृषि क्षेत्र में सम्पूर्ण वर्ष की वृद्धि दर 2.6% ही रहने का अनुमान है। वह यह भी कहते हैं कि 2007-08 कर वर्ष, विगत चार वर्षों में सबसे अधिक चुनौतीपूर्ण वर्ष रहा है। वित्त मंत्री जी का स्वयं यह कहना है कि कृषि क्षेत्र में उन्हें भी निराशा हाथ लगी है। 2007-08 की प्रथम छिमाही में अच्छी शुरुआत के बावजूद, वृद्धि दर का अनुमान निराश करता है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने इसे स्वीकार किया है।

मान्यवर, मैं कालेज में गणित पढ़ाता रहा हूं। गणित के बारे में कहा जाता है कि यह एक ऐसा विषय है, जो विद्यार्थियों को आकर्षित नहीं करता है। मैं गणित को तो समझ लेता हूं, मगर अर्थशास्त्र को समझने में मुझे कठिनाई होती है। कृषि मंत्रालय का कहना है कि 2007-08 में खाद्यान्नों का कुल उत्पादन 219-32 मिलियन टन होगा। यह अब तक का रिकॉर्ड उत्पादन होगा। विशेष रूप से चावल, मक्का, सोयाबीन और कपास का उत्पादन, अब तक का सर्वाधिक रिकॉर्ड उत्पादन होगा। इसके बावजूद यह देश खाद्यान्नों में आत्मनिर्भर होने के प्रति दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ है, अभी आत्म-निर्भर हुआ नहीं है, दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ है कि हम खाद्यान्न के क्षेत्र में आत्मनिर्भर होने जा रहे हैं। इन सब उपलब्धियों के बावजूद वृद्धि दर सिर्फ 2.6% है।

मान्यवर, देश का जो कृषि क्षेत्र है, उसमें 60% से अधिक लोग जुड़े हुए हैं। जैसा कि बजट में कहा गया है, वे रिकॉर्ड उत्पादन भी कर रहे हैं, फिर भी वृद्धि दर की स्थिति निराशाजनक है। हमारी वृद्धि दर 2.6% ही है। इसकी तुलना में सेवा और निर्माण के क्षेत्र में वृद्धि दर काफी अधिक है।

महोदय, सरकार कृषि के प्रति, किसानों के प्रति चिंतित है, उनके संबंध में सोच रही है। सरकार ने बजट में 25,000 करोड़ रुपये के व्यय से राष्ट्रीय कृषि विकास योजना और 4,882 करोड़ रुपये के व्यय से राष्ट्रीय खाद्य सुरक्षा मिशन की शुरुआत की गई है। महोदय, सरकार कहती है कि पिछले दो वर्षों में कृषि ऋण दोगुना कर दिया गया है। वित्त मंत्री जी का कहना है कि मार्च, 2008 तक इसका 2 लाख 40 हजार करोड़ रुपए के स्तर तक पहुंचना तय है। सरकार का यह भी कहना है कि कृषि में निवेश घटता चला जा रहा है। इसकी बर्बादी का प्रमुख कारण यही है कि कृषि में लगातार निवेश घटता चला जा रहा है।

महोदय, कृषि के क्षेत्र में सकल घरेलू उत्पाद के अनुपात के रूप में समग्र पूंजी-निर्माण 2003-2004 में 10.2 प्रतिशत के निम्न स्तर से सुधर कर 2006-2007 में 12.5 प्रतिशत हो गया है। ग्यारहवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान 4 प्रतिशत के वृद्धि-दर लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए इसे 16 प्रतिशत करने की जरूरत है, यह सरकार कह रही है।

महोदय, सरकार ने किसानों की जो भयावह स्थिति है, जो उनकी समस्याएं हैं, विशेष कर ऋण के सम्बन्ध में–हम सभी जानते हैं और सदन में चर्चा भी होती है कि ऋण-ग्रस्तता की वजह से किसान लगातार आत्महत्या कर रहे हैं–उसको सरकार ने महसूस किया है और उस ने किसानों का 60 हजार करोड़ रुपए का ऋण माफ किया है। सरकार ने किसानों के हित के लिए एक अभूतपूर्व कदम उठाया है। उसने कहा है कि सीमांत किसान, एक हेक्टेयर तक जोत वाले जो सीमांत किसान हैं और एक से दो हेक्टेयर तक की जोत करने वाले जो छोटे किसान हैं, उन सभी के ऋणों की पूर्ण माफी होगी और अन्य किसानों के बारे में उसका कहना है कि अगर वे एकमुश्त पैसे दे देते हैं तो उनको 25 परसेंट की छूट मिलेगी। इस तरह से दोनों को मिलाकर किसानों को 60 हजार करोड़ रुपए की छूट मिलने जा रही है।

महोदय, इस सम्बन्ध में मेरे ज़ेहन में कुछ सवाल हैं। सरकार का यह भी अनुमान है कि लगभग 4 करोड़ किसानों को इससे लाभ मिलेगा, 3 करोड़ जो छोटे और सीमांत किसान हैं और 1 करोड़ जो अन्य किसान हैं। मैं सरकार से यह जानना

चाहता हूं कि क्या इस देश में सिर्फ 4 करोड़ ही किसान हैं? अगर किसानों की इतनी ही संख्या है, तो बाकी किसान कहां गए? महोदय, मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार इस देश के दो-तिहाई किसान बैंकों से और अन्य वित्तीय संस्थानों से ऋण नहीं लेते हैं। ये दो-तिहाई किसान उनसे ऋण लेते हैं जो सेठ-साहूकार हैं, जो अधिक ब्याज वसूल करते हैं और लगभग एक-तिहाई किसान बैंकों से और अन्य वित्तीय संस्थानों से ऋण लेते हैं, फिर सेठ साहूकार से ऋण लेने वालों का क्या होगा, महोदय? वे किसान जिन्होंने सेठ-साहूकारों से ऋण लिये हैं, उनके ऋण का क्या होगा? सिर्फ 4 करोड़ किसानों के ऋण की माफी होगी, तो बाकी किसानों का क्या होगा? यह सवाल मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहूंगा कि बाकी किसानों के बारे में वह क्या सोच रही है?

महोदय, कुछ ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं, जो लगातार फ्लड-अफेक्टेड रहे हैं। मैं उत्तरी बिहार से आता हूं। वहां, हर साल बाढ़ आती है। नेपाल की नदियों से बाढ़ आती है और हर साल हजारों एकड़ की फसल की बर्बादी होती है। उसमें कोई एक हेक्टेयर या दो हेक्टेयर वाला किसान ही नहीं होता, बल्कि 5 हेक्टेयर, 10 हेक्टयर, 20 हेक्टेयर वाले किसान भी होते हैं। महोदय, यदि बड़े किसानों की फसल बर्बाद हो जाती है, 10-20 हेक्टेयर जमीन वाले किसानों की फसल बर्बाद होती है, उन किसानों का क्या होगा? उसकी खेती करने में बड़ी पूंजी लगती है और बड़ी पूंजी लगाने के बाद जब उसका सब कुछ बर्बाद हो जाता है, तो फिर उन किसानों का क्या होगा? मैं सरकार से जानना चाहूंगा कि जो बाढ़-प्रवण क्षेत्र हैं, सूखा क्षेत्र है, जल-जमाव के क्षेत्र हैं, ऐसे क्षेत्रों में किसानों की खेती जो बर्बाद होती है, उनके बारे में सरकार ने क्या सोचा है? बड़े किसानों के बारे में सरकार ने क्या सोचा है?

महोदय, मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि इस देश का किसान किसी की दया पर, किसी की भीख पर कभी निर्भर नहीं रहा है, कभी भी नहीं। वह खेती करता है, अपना पसीना बहाता है, मगर उसके बदले में उसे क्या मिल रहा है? महोदय, उसे बदले में उतना भी नहीं मिल रहा है जितने से उसके परिवार का पालन-पोषण हो सके। महोदय, किसान आप से कुछ नहीं मांगता? उसे आप अच्छे बीज दे दीजिए, खाद दे दीजिए, पानी की व्यवस्था कर दीजिए, खेती के लिए जो भी आवश्यक सामान उपलब्ध कराना है, उसे उपलब्ध करा दीजिए और सही समय पर उसकी फसल का सही मूल्य दे दीजिए, फिर किसान को न आपसे कर्ज माफ कराने की जरूरत है और न आपसे कोई भीख मांगने की जरूरत है।

महोदय, इस बजट-भाषण में सिंचाई के संबंध में 3-4 पैराग्राफ हैं जिन्हें मैं देख रहा था। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है, इस देश में 40 प्रतिशत जमीन ही सिंचित है, बाकी सब कुछ ऊपर वाले की कृपा पर निर्भर करता है। किसान की खेती बाढ़, अतिवृष्टि, ओलावृष्टि व सूखा आदि पर भी निर्भर करती है। महोदय, 40 प्रतिशत खेत हैं जिनके लिए पानी की व्यवस्था सुनिश्चित है, उसके अलावा 60 प्रतिशत अन्य असिंचित करने वालों का क्या होगा? उनके लिए सरकार क्या व्यवस्था कर रही है। मैंने इस सदन में भी दर्जनों बार यह सवाल उठाया है कि बिहार में नेपाल की नदियों से आने वाली बाढ़ में हर साल हजारों एकड़ जमीन बर्बाद होती है। इस संबंध में हमें नेपाल की सरकार से बात करना चाहिए और इस बारे में बात हो भी रही है। इस सरकार की ओर से भी बात हो रही है, पूर्ववर्ती सरकार ने भी बात की है। एक लंबे अरसे से बात हो रही है। इस वार्ता को और आगे बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। अगर आप बिहार को खुशहाल देखना चाहते हैं, बिहार के किसानों को खुशहाल देखना चाहते हैं तो आवश्यक है कि आप वार्ता को आगे बढ़ाएं ताकि नेपाल से आने वाली नदियों की वजह से हमारे यहां जो बाढ़ की समस्या है, उस समस्या के समाधान का रास्ता निकले।

महोदय, अब मैं शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के संबंध में कहना चाहूंगा। शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य दो ऐसे मजबूत स्तंभ हैं जिन पर सामाजिक क्षेत्र के सुधारों की इमारत टिकी है, ऐसा वित्त मंत्री जी के बजट भाषण में लिखा है। मंत्री जी ने सर्व-शिक्षा के लिए 13 हजार 100 करोड़, मध्याह्न भोजन के लिए 8 हजार करोड़ तथा माध्यमिक शिक्षा के लिए 4554 करोड़ का प्रावधान किया है। महोदय, सर्व-शिक्षा अभियान के बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। सर्व-शिक्षा अभियान का केन्द्र बिंदु प्राथमिक शिक्षा सुलभ कराना और आधारभूत ढांचे के स्थान पर बच्चों को विद्यालयों में बनाए रखना, उसकी गुणवत्ता में सुधार लाना तथा उच्च प्राथमिकता शिक्षा तक उनकी पहुंच सुनिश्चित करना होगा। महोदय, मैं आंकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहूंगा, लेकिन हम सभी को जानकारी है कि पहली क्लास से जब बच्चा शिक्षा शुरू करता है, खास तौर से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में बालक या बालिकाएं अपनी शिक्षा शुरू करते हैं और धीरे-धीरे जब वे ऊपर की क्लासेज में जाते हैं, उनका अनुपात कम होता चला जाता है। इसके पीछे गरीबी मुख्य कारण है। महोदय, गरीबों के बच्चे जब सात, आठ, नौ या दस साल के हो जाते हैं, उस समय से उनको काम में लगा दिया जाता है। कानून के अनुसार हम उन बच्चों से काम नहीं ले सकते, मगर कानून को कौन देखता है? जब मां-बाप को पैसे की जरूरत पड़ती है, रोटी की जरूरत पड़ती है तो वे अपने बच्चों को काम

में लगा देते हैं। इसलिए सर्व-शिक्षा अभियान के माध्यम से सरकार ने प्रयास किया है कि ये बच्चे स्कूल में रहें और उनका drop out कम हो और धीरे-धीरे गरीब परिवार व ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के बच्चे भी आगे पढ़ पायेंगे। सर्व शिक्षा अभियान के लिये सरकार ने बजट में आवश्यक प्रावधान किया है।

महोदय, "6,000 उच्च उत्कृष्टता वाले मॉडल स्कूलों की स्थापना के लक्ष्य के साथ 2008-09 में मॉडल स्कूल कार्यक्रम शुरू किया जाएगा। मैं इस नई योजना के लिए 650 करोड़ रुपए की व्यवस्था करने का प्रस्ताव करता हूं", ऐसा वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है। यह समय गुणवत्ता की दृष्टिकोण से, खासकर के जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के स्कूल हैं, वे अभी पीछे हैं। वहां जो अध्यापन का स्तर है, उस स्तर को अच्छा बनाने की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अभी भी अच्छे स्तर के स्कूल नहीं खुल रहे हैं और जो प्राइवेट स्कूल खोलते हैं, वे भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जाकर स्कूल नहीं खोलते, वे शहरी क्षेत्रों में ही खोलते हैं। इसलिए ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में भी शिक्षा का स्तर ऊंचा बनाने के लिए आवश्यक है कि वहां मॉडल स्कूल खोले जाएं, उनमें अच्छे शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति की जाए और सभी प्रकार की शैक्षणिक सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराई जाएं, ताकि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के बच्चों को भी अच्छा बढ़ने का मौका मिल सके।

महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रीय साधन-सह-योग्यता छात्रवृत्ति के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहूंगा कि जो गरीब परिवार के लड़के हैं, उनको पढ़ने के लिए छात्रवृत्ति की आवश्यकता होती है। जैसा मैंने पहले कहा कि आर्थिक कारण होते हैं, जिससे बच्चे अच्छी शिक्षा प्राप्त नहीं कर पाते हैं और इस कारण को दूर करने के लिए सरकार की ओर से सहायता की आवश्यकता है। इस संबंध में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है - "पिछले वर्ष मैंने साधन-सह-योग्यता छात्रवृत्ति योजना की घोषणा की थी, ताकि छात्र आठवीं कक्षा से आगे और बारहवीं कक्षा तक शिक्षा जारी रख सके। मैंने इस वायदे के साथ 750 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान किया था कि अगले तीन वर्षों के लिए समान राशि उपलब्ध कराई जाएगी। यह योजना 2008-09 से क्रियान्वित की जाएगी और इसमें एक लाख छात्रवृत्तियां प्रदान की जाएंगी।" मैं समझता हूं कि एक लाख की संख्या बहुत कम है। एक अरब दस करोड़ से भी ज्यादा आबादी वाले देश में एक लाख छात्रवृत्तियां बहुत कम हैं, इसलिए इसको बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। मेरा अनुरोध है कि आप इसको बढ़ाएं।

महोदय, जैसा मैंने शुरू में स्वास्थ्य के बारे में भी कहा था कि किसी समाज के निर्माण के लिए शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य, ये दो बड़े स्तम्भ हैं। यहां कहा गया है - "राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य मिशन केन्द्र सरकार का एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण कार्यक्रम है। इसका उद्देश्य एक पूर्ण क्रियाशील, समुदाय आधारित, विकेन्द्रीकृत स्वास्थ्य सुपुर्दगी प्रणाली की स्थापना करना है"। महोदय, ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं की बहुत कमी है। जो वहां सैंटर्स बने हुए हैं, डॉक्टर नहीं मिलेंगे। डॉक्टर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जाना नहीं चाहते। अगर किसी डॉक्टर की पदस्थापना ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में हो जाती है। तो उसको लगेगा कि हमें जेल में डाल दिया गया है। वह सैंटर पर नहीं रहता, बल्कि पास के किसी शहर में रहता है। सप्ताह में एक दिन, दो दिन, तीन दिन वह सैंटर पर आता है, तो देहातों में डॉक्टरों की पोस्टिंग अनिवार्य करने की आवश्यकता है। फिर जो स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र हैं, वहां दवाइयां होनी चाहिए, जो ईलाज के लिए आवश्यक साधन हैं वे भी उपलब्ध होने चाहिए, क्योंकि यह राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण स्वास्थ्य मिशन योजना सरकार की एक बहुत ही महत्वाकांक्षी योजना है।

महोदय, कुछ बातें मैं अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, अन्य पिछड़े वर्ग और अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा।" कतिपय लाभ वंचित वर्गों के लिए विकास और वित्त निगमों की स्थापना की गई है। मैं इन निगमों के संबंध में निम्न प्रकार से अतिरिक्त इक्विटी सहयोग प्रदान करने का प्रस्ताव करता हूं। यह वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है और आगे कहा है - "(1) राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक विकास तथा वित्त निगम 75.00 करोड़, (2) कमजोर वर्गों के लिए तीन राष्ट्रीय वित्त और विकास निगम जिनमें शामिल हैं: (i) सफाई कर्मचारी, (ii) अनुसूचित जाति (iii) पिछड़ा वर्ग - 106.50 करोड़, (3) राष्ट्रीय/राज्य अनुसूचित जनजाति वित्त और विकास निगम - 50.00 करोड़ (4) राष्ट्रीय विकलांग विकास निगम - 9.00 करोड़"। सर, यह 9 करोड़, 50 करोड़, 75 करोड़ क्या है? यह जो राशि इसमें दिखाई गई है, मैं इसको ठीक से समझ नहीं पा रहा हूं, मगर मुझे यह राशि कम लग रही है, यह मैं महसूस करता हूं। महोदय, अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति, पिछड़ा वर्ग और अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग के लिए छात्रवृत्तियों के कुछ कार्यक्रमों की उन्होंने घोषणा की है। महोदय, उनका कहना है कि *'सभी कार्यक्रमों को प्रारम्भ किया जा चुका है। और ये सभी कार्यक्रम वर्ष 2008-09 में पर्याप्त निधियों के साथ जारी रहेंगे- अनुसूचित जाति 804 करोड़, अनुसूचित जनजाति 195 करोड़, अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग 164 करोड़, अल्पसंख्यक 100 करोड़।* महोदय, देश में अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग के लोगों की आबादी 52 प्रतिशत है, अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग की आबादी, अगर मैं गलत होऊं तो मंत्री जी कृपया सही करेंगे, 13 या 14 प्रतिशत की मुझे जानकारी है, अनुसूचित जाति,

जनजाति 22.5 प्रतिशत है। इनके लिए जो राशि की प्रावधान किया गया है, उस राशि को मैं कम समझता हूं। ...(समय की घंटी)... महोदय, अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग के कार्यक्रमों के लिए सरकार ने कुछ अच्छी योजनाओं का प्रावधान किया है - '90 अल्पसंख्यक बहुत जिलों में से प्रत्येक जिले में एक बहु क्षेत्रीय विकास योजना तैयार की जाएगी और 2008-09 में इसके लिए आबंटन 540 करोड़ रुपए का होगा। 80 करोड़ रुपए के आबंटन से मैट्रिक पूर्व छात्रवृत्ति योजना, मदरसा शिक्षा को आधुनिकीकरण योजना कार्यान्वित की जाएगी और वर्ष 2008-09 में इसके लिए 45.45 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान किया गया है।' महोदय, इतनी बड़ी जनसंख्या के लिए इतनी कम राशि का प्रावधान क्यों किया गया है, यह मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा? इतनी कम राशि से इतनी बड़ी आबादी का आप कैसे कल्याण करेंगे, कैसे इनके लिए कार्यक्रमों का निष्पादन करेंगे?

महोदय, मैं दो शब्द राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार गारंटी योजना के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा। राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार गारंटी योजना अधिनियम जब सदन से पारित किया गया था, उस समय चारों तरफ से इस अधिनियम का स्वागत हुआ था और ऐसा लगा था कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जो बेरोजगारी है, उसको दूर करने के लिए यह योजना बहुत ही कारगर कदम सिद्ध होगी। मगर, महोदय, जो रिजल्ट आया है, जो परिणाम आए हैं, राज्यों से जो सूचनाएं आई हैं, उनसे पता लगता है। कि इस योजना का कार्यान्वयन सही ढंग से नहीं हो रहा है। नियमानुसार रजिस्ट्रेशन नहीं हो रहा है, अगर हो रहा है तो बहुत कम हो रहा है, जॉब कार्ड नहीं बन रहे हैं, बन रहे हैं तो बहुत कम बन रहे हैं और जॉब कार्ड बनने के बाद जो काम मिलना चाहिए वह भी नहीं दिया जाता है। ...(व्यवधान)... ऐसी स्थिति में, महोदय, यह ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के लिए जो एक बहुत ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: भंडारी जी, आज चूंकि डिबेट हमको कन्कलूड करनी है, इसलिए। I request all the hon. Members to keep to the allotted time, not exceed the time-limit.

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: महोदय, मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूं। मगर, इस योजना के महत्व को देखते हुए सरकार ने फैसला किया है कि देश के सभी 596 ग्रामीण जिले हैं, उन सभी जिलों में इसको लागू किया जाएगा। मगर, मैं पुन: कहना चाहूंगा कि इसका कार्यान्वयन बिल्कुल कानून के अनुसार हो, जो अधिनियम कहता है, उसके अनुसार इसका कार्यान्वयन होना चाहिए।

महोदय, आप मुझे लगातार टोक रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: मैं टोक नहीं रहा हूं, मैं आपको समय का ध्यान दिला रहा हूं।

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: सरकार ने और भी बहुत सी महत्वपूर्ण योजनाओं को, जैसे गरीबों के लिए आवास की व्यवस्था का प्रावधान किया है, इंदिरा आवास योजना के लिए भी...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उदय प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश): भंडारी जी, मैं आपकी तारीफ कर रहा हूं कि आप इतना अच्छा बोल रहे हैं, इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध है कि इनको थोड़ा समय और दिया जाए।

श्री उपसभापति: मैं वक्त कहां से लाऊं। भंडारी जी अच्छा बोल रहे हैं, मुझे भी मालूम है, मगर मैं वक्त कहां से लाऊं।

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: उपसभापति जी, अब मैं सिर्फ उस योजना की चर्चा कर देता हूं कि इंदिरा आवास योजना के मद में राशि बढ़ाई गई है। इसकी बहुत मांग थी कि 20,000 रुपए, 25,000 रुपए से इंदिरा आवास योजना कार्यान्वित नहीं हो सकती है, इसलिए बजट में इसकी राशि को बढ़ाया है। गरीबों के आवास की व्यवस्था के लिए सरकार की यह जो योजना है, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण योजना है। मध्यम वर्ग का भी सरकार ने बहुत ध्यान रखा है। इस बार जो टैक्स फ्री इनकम की सीमा है, उसे बढ़ाया गया है। पिछली बार यह सीमा एक लाख, 10 हजार रुपए थी, इस बार इसे बढ़ाकर एक लाख, 50 हजार रुपए किया गया है। पिछली बार महिलाओं के लिए यह सीमा एक लाख, 45 हजार रुपए थी, इस बार इसे बढ़ाकर एक लाख, 80 हजार रुपए किया गया है। पिछली बार सीनियर सिटीजन के लिए यह सीमा एक लाख, 95 हजार रुपए थी, इस बार इसे बढ़ाकर 2 लाख, 25 हजार रुपए किया गया है। इससे मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों को राहत मिलेगी, क्योंकि जो मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं, उनकी दृष्टि पूरे बजट में इसी ओर रहती है कि बजट में टैक्स में क्या छूट मिल रही है? सरकार ने उनका बहुत ध्यान रखा है और सरकार ने इसके लिए प्रयास किया है तथा जो कुछ उन्हें दे सकते हैं, वह उन्होंने दिया है।

उपसभापति जी, सरकार ने किसानों का 60,000 करोड़ रुपए का ऋण माफ किया है, इसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं, लेकिन मैं पुन: यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में सिर्फ 4 करोड़ किसान नहीं हैं। जो दो-तिहाई किसान

हैं, जिन्होंने बैंकों और वित्तीय संस्थाओं से ऋण नहीं लिया है, बल्कि सेठ-साहूकारों से ऋण लिया है, हमें उनका भी ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा. वरना इन दो-तिहाई किसानों की जो दुर्गति हो रही है, जिस प्रकार से वे आत्महत्याएं कर रहे हैं, उनको रोकना बहुत मुश्किल होगा। गरीबों के लिए कई योजनाएं सरकार ने शुरू की हैं। हमारा विश्वास है कि इस बार वित्त मंत्री जी ने उदारता का परिचय दिया है। वैसे हम लोग आर्थिक मामलों में उनको बड़ा कठोर वित्त मंत्री मानते हैं, इस बार उन्होंने थोड़ी उदारता का परिचय दिया है। मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करते हुए, वित्त मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देता हूं, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE (Uttar Pradesh): Respected Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we have had very important points that have been made, and wonderful speeches which have been given. There was the delectable speech of my friend, Shri Amar Singh, and, then, absolutely devastating speech of Brinda, and the only thing at which I not amazed in Brinda's speech was that the record of Mr. Chidamabaram and the record of the Government being what she portrayed it to be, she still tries so hard to keep them in office. That was the only thing which was surprising. But, Sir, I will take up several matters which have come, including the ones on which Mr. Bhandary seems to be so satisfied. Sir, because the Budget is a litany of claims and a litany of promises, and, I will show, Sir, by documents of the Budget itself, documents of the Departments of the Government, documents of the advisers of the Government and the documents of the CAG whom they very much like to quote, when I am in question, their documents, as to what is the reality behind Mr. Chidambaram's claims and his promises. Sir, I will start. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Puducherry): Pertaining to the NDA also.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Yes, NDA also. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: That is very, very important.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Yes, that is very important. Because as you rightly said, everything that is good is due to the NDA, which you are only continuing. The atomic deal — you are only continuing what we were doing.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You are opposing in now. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy, please ...(*Interruptions*)... Let the debate proceed. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I will start with this document called 'Implementation of Budget 2007-08' because Mr. Chidamabaram expresses his great happiness at placing this before the House. He says, 'in keeping with the endeavour of the Government of India to promote transparency and accountability...' He is placing this document. Sir, I will start with the item on which Mr. Chidamabaram says, 'action completed'. So, I will give the best possible construction on what the document has been put. I will start, Sir, with Shri Manohar Joshiji, with Mumbai. You remember, Sir, Bansalji will remember, all freinds here will remember, that on the 26th of July in 2005, there was a devastating flood in Mumbai. It was an unexpected flood in Mumbai. What did the Government do? The Government announced a special package, for the rejuvenation of Mithi river, of Rs. 1260 crores. I have tried to verify from my friends there, who have asked the Government over there. Information could not be obtained. I asked Joshiji also to have a second check. As far as we have been able to verify— Bansal *Sahab* will correct me, Chidambaram *Sahab* will correct me — nothing has gone, at all.

The second promise that was made was — I think, this was at the very high level — that Mumbai shall be made a Shanghai. Two very high people have said this. Sir, almost 30 months have passed since then and — as I understand it and I am subject to correction — all that has happened is a compilation mode and a presentation made to the high people. It is a

compilation of the existing urban projects started by several Governments, not only the NDA Government. That is what has satisfied the promise of Shanghai! Nothing additional, at all.

Third, the item which is specifically dealt with in this particular document is—this was the third promise that was made, also at a very high-level —Mumbai as an international financial centre. We were told, there is an announcement that Rs. 1,000 crore grant will be given to this. Joshiji reminds me, it was by the Prime Minister himself. All Mumbai newspapers had this as an eight-column heading—Rs. 1,000 crores in grant to be given. We tried throughout the year to try and find out कि कितना गया है? No information was forthcoming. So, my indefatigable friend, the former M.P., Kirit Somayya, who never leaves a trail that he is pursuing, was forced to apply under the Right to Information Act for the simple thing, कितना पैसा actually grant में गया। It took two months of a Government so committed to transparency and accountability. Two months of effort under the Right to Information Act to find out कि कितना आया। The figure that he has got was obtained in July, 2007. Maybe, Bansal *Sahab* will tell me उसके बाद कुछ किया है तो आप हमको बताएंगे। But, as far as July, 2007 is concerned, 31 months later, out of Rs. 1,000 crores promised, Rs. 16,16,000 had gone. कल मैंने जोशी जी से कहा कि आप फिर से verify कर लें, तो उन्होंने कहा कि उनकी verification से भी उतना ही है। फिर अचम्भे की बात यह है कि हजार करोड़ रुपए में से 16 करोड़ जाता है और चिदम्बरम साहब कहते हैं कि action completed! Action complete कैसे हुआ, यह राज आप सुनिए, item क्या कहता है, "The report of the high-powered expert committee to make Mumbai an international financial centre has been released." The report has been released, so the action has been completed! Not only that, in the next sentence, "That the full text of the report has also been placed on the Ministry's website." अब इससे ज्यादा क्या चाहिए? The third sentence, "A presentation was made to the Prime Minister also." Fourth item, "That the recommendations have been circulated to the concerned regulators/agencies for comments/views on the process of implementing the recommendations." Action complete! This is the transparency, accountability. भंडारी साहब इनके वायदों पर एतबार कर रहे हैं। यह मैं आपको इसलिए बता रहा हूँ कि यह typical है। मैंने पहले ही, जब चिदम्बरम साहब ने पहला बजट दिया था, उस समय मैंने उसमें कई examples बतलाए थे और सदन से गुज़ारिश की थी कि जब फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब बोलें, तो आप ज़रा नुक्ताचीनी की नज़र से उनकी बात सुनें और देखें। जब वह फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर एक lawyer हो, तो डबल निगाह से देखें और जब वह lawyer चिदम्बरम हो, तो ट्रिपल निगाह से देखें, क्योंकि आपको याद होगा, बंसल साहब बहुत पुराने सदस्य हैं, 2005-06 में चिदम्बरम साहब ने बहुत कहा, वृंदा जी को खुश करने के लिए, क्योंकि ये हमेशा unorganised sector के बारे में चिंतित रहती हैं, तो इन्होंने कहा —"The unorganised or informal sector accounts for 92 per cent of the employment and absorbs the bulk of the annual accretion of the labour force." इसके लिए एक ही समाधान है पूरा—"Provision of urban facilities in rural areas". इसलिए यह नहीं कि पूरा मैं कुछ करूंगा, लेकिन क्या मैं कर रहा हूं? The National Commission on Entreprises in unorganised/informal sector has proposed pilot projects" of पूरा, उस पर ध्यान किया जाएगा। अच्छा, अब उस समय यह वाजिब ही नहीं था कि कुछ कहा जाए पूरा के बारे में और लाज़िमी भी था, क्योंकि डा० कलाम थे, वे इस चीज़ के बारे में बात करते थे। कलाम साहब गए, पूरा गया। रात गई, बात गई, उसके बाद किसी बजट में उसका नाम नहीं है, वह promise भी fulfil नहीं हुआ। अब आप देखिए, कल वृंदा ने कहा, हमारे दोस्त अमर सिंह ने कहा, चिदम्बरम साहब और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब तो हमेशा कहते रहते हैं कि साहब, हम तो सिर्फ poor के लिए काम करते हैं, *Poor* को सबसे ज्यादा जरूरत किस चीज़ की है? उसको *food* की जरूरत होती है। *Food* का *key* क्या है? Public Distribution System और Public Distribution System का key क्या है? Fair Price Shops को ठीक करना, तो आपको याद होगा कि जो पहला बजट इन्होंने दिया, उसमें इन्होंने क्या promise किया? उसमें इन्होंने कहा — "Fair Price Shops constitute the backbone of the food security system — it is another fashionable word—for the poor." "We shall address the weaknesses in the system and

strengthen public distribution. I shall return to the subject a little later." यह पैरा 15 में था, पैरा 75 तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते यह चीज़ बिल्कुल एक concrete shape ले गई और इन्होंने कहा कि हरेक poor family को food नहीं दिया जाएगा, बल्कि food stamps दिए जाएंगे। वह stamp लेकर food ले लेगा। अच्छा, जब चिदम्बरम साहब ऐसा promise करें, तो आप फिर से ज़रा अगले sentence का इंतज़ार कीजिए, तो stamp भी नहीं मिलेगी। अगला sentence यह था — "I propose to introduce a pilot scheme for distributing food stamps, instead of distributing food through Fair Price Shops in two or three continuous districts in one State. "Stamps का भी pilot चलेगा, pilot भी एक-दो districts में चलेगा और अगली बार वह pilot ही उड़कर चला गया, stamp भी नहीं आई, उसके बाद कभी उसका ज़िक्र ही नहीं हुआ। तो अगला बजट आया 2007-08 का, उसमें क्या कहा गया? उसमें stamp नहीं था। उसमें यह था कि बहुत मुश्किल हो रही है, अब Food Distribution System नहीं, Targeted Public Distribution System होगा और उस पर उन्होंने यह कहा कि क्या करेंगे इसके बारे में? "A plan scheme for evaluation, monitoring, management and strengthening of the system shall now be implemented in 2007-08 and this will include computerisation of the PDS at an integrated system of the Food Corporation of India." That is all. कंप्यूटर चल रहे हैं, खाना नहीं मिल रहा, जो stamp आने थे, गायब हो गए। अब कंप्यूटराइज़ेशन शुरू हो गया। अब इस बार की स्कीम क्या है? अब आप देखिए, उसी food security, poor, food — अब वे कहते हैं —"An idea has been growing." पुराना आइडिया भूल गए, पुरानी सेंट्रल स्कीम भूल गए। An idea that has been growing is to deliver subsidies to the target groups through smart cards. कंट्री में technological progress हो रही है इसलिए पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट को छोड़कर, stamps को छोड़कर, अब हम स्मार्ट कार्ड्स देंगे। अब अगला सेंटेंस देखिए। स्मार्ट कार्ड मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा। वे कहते हैं, Finally, I have found two willing partners. One of the great achievements of this Government is that they have lifted helplessness to new heights.

वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री पवन कुमार बंसल): यह स्टेट्स का काम है।

श्री अरुण शौरी: स्टेट्स भी नहीं सुनतीं और मिनिस्टर्स भी नहीं सुनते। फिर आप क्रेडिट क्यों क्लेम कर रहे हो? वे कहते हैं, "Finally, I have found two willing partners, the State of Haryana..." — and because of his great influence —" ...the Union Territory of Chandigarh." फिर से वही चीज़ आ गयी। 'a pilot scheme shall be introduced on smart cards.' जब वह होगी तो उसका evaluation होगा। वे कहते हैं, validation होगा, उसके बाद हम आगे सोचेंगे कि वृंदा जी के दर्द को कैसे ठीक किया जाए, on the Public Distribution System. At the same time, all the weakness of leakages, etc., continue.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair]

How the weaknesses continue? I will tell you. The Planning Commission has released Report on the TPDS in April, 2005. It says, "The implementation of the TPDS is plagued by targeting errors, prevalence of ghost cards in unidentified households, leakages in diversion of subsidized grains are large and only about 42 per cent of the subsidized grains issued from the Central Pool reaches the target group. Over 36 per cent of Budgetary subsidies on food is siphoned off from the supply chain and another 21 per cent reaches not those BPL households but APL households." उन्होंने बतलाया है। आपको ताज्जुब होगा। यह इनकी अप्रैल-2005 की रिपोर्ट है। फिर सीएजी की है, Performance Audit on the Management of Foodgrains of 2006 उसमें भी वही है, bogus cards हैं, एनुअल इनकम वेरीफाई नहीं होती, अमाउंट्स divert हो रहे हैं और उन्होंने कहा कि करीब 39 to 52 per cent of the grains are siphoned off from this whole thing. Then they say, in a State with which Mr. Bansal is very well acquainted, "To ensure proper monitoring..." — what was done and the type of remedy which Mr. Bimal Jalan always comments on? — "...an Area Officer Scheme was introduced." What did the CAG find? He found that there is 96 per cent shortfall in inspection by Area Officers. गिल साहब, देख लो। फिर अगली कमेटी। फिर कहते हैं कि एरिया ऑफिसर्स नहीं ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, monitoring has to be done by the State Governments...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, just one second...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The implementation agency is the State Government.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Then, what are you doing? ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Narayanasamy, you should listed to everybody ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please sit down.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Then, why are you claiming the credit? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat ...*(Interruptions)*... You give your reply to that when your chance comes.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I am only on the point of what Mr. Chidambaram has claimed And, there is evidence about the claim. So, there is not only the Area Office Scheme, but there shall be Vigilance Committees. So, the CAG found, "Vigilance Committees were not formed or were found to be defunct or non-functional at various levels in 24 States." If you want me to give the names, you will be embarrassed.

Second thing is, not just all this, your own Advisor, a Member of the National Advisory Board, Mr. N.C. Saxena, has then said, 'How the people in the BPL do not have the Ration Cards and 20 per cent persons in the richest quintile have got the Ration Cards under this Scheme. I am not saying it. It is the member of your National Advisory Board, Shri N.C. Saxena, who said this. He is a very distinguished Civil Servant. I will be reading many of this notes which he circulated, to my knowledge, to the hon. Prime Minister, to unmentionable people who are not Members of the House, to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and so on. I am also a beneficiary of that note. Mr. Chidambarm is very conscious of this. अभी भंडारी साहब हमको बता रहे थे कि एलोकेशन इतनी इनक्रीज कर दी गयी, यह कर दिया गया, वह कर दिया गया। Mr. Saxenaji points this out in letters to all of them. Shrimati Brindaji also made this point yesterday that you had promised in this CMP; this new Bible, that the social sector allocations, as a proportion, of GDP, will be doubled. He says, "It is half." I will show you how it was, actually, decreased. But it is not just allocations. Mr. Chidambaram said in his speech during the last 2-3 years, "And, at the same time, I may caution that outlays do not necessarily mean outcomes. The people of the country are concerned with outcomes." So, what will he do about outcomes? It will be the same. "During the course of the year, together with Planning Commission, we shall put in place a mechanism to measure the development outcomes of all major programmes. Second we shall also ensure that programmes and schemes are not allowed to continue, indefinitely, from one Plan period to the next without an independent and in-depth evaluation." You please tell us when you reply, how many schemes you have discontinued.

In between, the Prime Minister has said this on various occasions. I have been deeply concerned about the efficiency of utilisation of public funds. I have been looking for ways to combine our concern for equaitable outcomes with actual outcomes." This is in his letter—Smt. Brinda should note this—to Mckinsey's Meeting. In his great lecture to the Planning Commission; in his opening remarks to the full Planning Commission meeting on November 7, 2007, he, then, emphasised this that we have already laid the architecture of inclusive growth. That means the building is not complete. The same phrase is used in this year's Budget Speech also. But he says, "The emphasis must now be put on ensuring that these programmes deliver what they promise." We must work, purposefully, to realise socio-economic transformation that the Plan seeks to achieve." And, yet, again, he said this in *The Economist,*

another Foreign newspapers, Smt. Brindaji. In their Round Table Conference on India, he said," We cannot spend our way to prosperity, and having tangible outcomes is, therefore, as important as increasing outlays. This is the single biggest concern of our Government today and we have to address this issue if we need greater returns on our social investments." पिछली बार चिदम्बरम जी ने बजट में कहा, There is no dearth of schemes, there is no dearth of funds. What needs to be done is to deliver the intended outcomes." So, यह मंत्र है। अभी हम नेशनल रूरल एम्पलायमेंट गारंटी स्कीम के बारे में phrase सुन रहे थे, अब आप यह देखिए कि उसका आउट-कम क्या है। पहली बात आपको याद होगी, इनकी पहली स्पीच में क्या था, "The object is to guarantee 100 days of employment in a year to one able-bodied person in every poor household," In two speeches, it became, every rural poor household.' That is a small matter. You should always see where he is getting the money from. I will come to that. In the next paragrah he said, "Allocations under different schemes will be pooled together to support the Food-for-Work Programme." There is no new allocation. Those are existing programmes. This is one of the skills of this Government. They take existing programmes, club them together and give them a new name. Generally, it would be a predictable name and gets wow, wows; accolades. So, he says, "Allocations under different schemes will be pooled together to support the Food-for-Work Programme. There are substantial funds, totalling, over Rs. 6,000 crores under SGRY, SGSY, SJSRY, NREGP and PMRY. "That was all. पर सबने कह दिया कि सोशल कमिटमेंट हो गई। फिर इन्होंने अगली बार 6 हजार करोड़ से 11 हजार करोड़ दिया। But you will please note now something which is very significant, which is, that in that speech in 2005-2006, he said that the allocation is in two parts. There is a food allocation which used to be there and there is a financial allocation for this, and this total will be Rs. 11,000 crores. By the next speech, this had already become a 'Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.' Then he says, 'an allocation in the current year under a cluster of schemes, including this one, shall be Rs. 11,700 crores. 'As I pointed out, three sentences later. It became Rs. 11,300 crores. पॉयलट 400 करोड़ ले गया। फिर 2007-2008 में क्या हुआ। उसी स्कीम को 200 डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स से 330 डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स पर आपने लागू कर दिया। इस बार क्या कहते हैं, The NREGS has proved a historic measure of empowerment of Scheduled Castes—I want you to note the words because I will come to the evidence on this—and Scheduled Tribes and—as Brindaji yesterday pointed out—especially women सुना है कि कोई उनसे मिलने गए, उन्होंने कह दिया कि सब डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स में होना चाहिए, तो इन्होंने अब कर दिया कि it shall be rolled out to all 596 rural districts. Now, what does Mr. N.C. Saxena in his letter to all of these big people say? That is the first point. He shows that actually the allocation to this Employment Guarantee Scheme has actually gone down. Why? It is because as I mentioned to you, as Mr. Chidambaram himself mentioned in his 2005-06 speech, the allocation was of two parts, namely, the food allocation and the financial allocation. So, in the food allocation, Mr. Saxena has pointed out in his letter to them that in 2005-06, 68 lakh tonnes were distributed under the Employment Scheme. In 2006-07, this 68 lakh tonnes came down to 24 lakh tonnes. This year, he says, 'up to November, 2007, only 7.03 lakh tonnes have been distributed. And, he says that if you take the most optimistic assumptions, not more than 15 lakh tonnes will be distributed. 68 लाख से 15 लाख टन्स की एलोकेशन, वैसे ये बता रहे हैं कि हमने एलोकेशन कर दी एंड यह एक हिस्टोरिक मेज़र हो गई।And, he shows that if you take the most conservative prices for foodgrains, the allocation on wage employment schemes has actually come down from Rs. 18,406 crores in 2005-06 to Rs. 15,000 crores during this year. That is how the great 'Common Minimum Programme,' by which everybody swears, is being fulfilled. Not only that. Mr. Saxena points out and the reasons he points out this is that there is a CAG report on this also. सर, मुश्किल एक यह है कि ये रिपोर्ट्स आजकल बाहर नहीं आ रही हैं। यह एक रिपोर्ट है ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: All the Members get these reports.

श्री अरुण शौरी: सर यह आई नहीं है, तुसी दिसम्बर तों बैठे हुए हो, मैं तुहानू दस रिहा हां और मिनिस्ट्री में ओनू वापस जवाब भेज रिहे हैं।...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I am not getting into some facts. Otherwise, all the reports of the CAG are actually distributed to all the Members.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: No; no, What happens is, there is a sequence. You see they go to the Ministry. The Ministry sits, deliberates, strengthen the evaluation scheme and asks pilots to examine. ...*(Interruptions)*. . And, the result is, in December. ...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, the reports are laid on the Table of the two Houses. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I know that, Sir, but all that is after it is done. The document 'December 2007 Performance Audit of the Implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. ...*(Interruptions)*... नहीं-नहीं, होगा ही नहीं सर, इतनी जल्दी, सैशन के बाद होगा। इन्होंने क्या बताया है...। उन्होंने बतलाया कि only 3 per cent, who were entitled under the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, of those have got this. उन्होंने बतलाया कि the average employment provided to each registered household was not 108 days, but 18 days. Only 3.2 per cent of the registered households received 100 days or more of employment. फिर उन्होंने कहा कि projects were to be taken up in low-wage areas. In fact, low-wage areas were not identified in 53 districts. उसका था कि unique identity will be given to the members so that there is no muster roll business. He says that they were not given districts in which wages material ratio was supposed to be 60:40. Actually it is, in many ways, not even the reverse, but 80 per cent on materials. So, where they went to inspect some ponds, the ponds had been dug but there was no water. They say that ponds have become swimming pools because 80 per cent of the thing has become ...*(Interruptions)*... It is their phrase, not mine, because 80 per cent of the outlay had been used on materials The money, in violation of the guidelines, had been given to contractors. It had been given to tractor owners and camel cart owners, and not to the workers, who had registered.

SHRI PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL (Gujarat): The funds are provided by the Central Government, but the entire implementation of the schemes is the responsibility of the respective State Governments. Even on the job cards ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN). You will also get a chance to speak ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL: You are taking credit for ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I want to start with an assumption that all the faults are due to the NDA and all the State Governments, which have done the wrong things, are the NDA Governments. The question is, when this historic measure, for which Mr. Chidambaram takes credit. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL: In fact, you are making a mockery of the Parliament. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUAN SHOURE: Sir please stop him. He is making a mockery of the Parliament. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, these kinds of interruptions are not allowed. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Then, they show that actually no measurement of works was done. No record was kept as to who were applying for the work. There was no question of minimum wages. People have been paid only Rs. 8/- per person. It is there in the CAG Report. Rs. 8 to Rs. 184! You know why? Because 'discretion' is involved there. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL: You please give the name of the State. ...*(Interruptions)*... You please give the name of the State.

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: आपने क्या ऐक्शन लिया ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHARIMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Panyji, you take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... Rashtrapalji, you can mention the name in your speech. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री प्रवीण राष्ट्रपाल: बैठ जाइए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: आप कहते हैं बैठ जाइए ...(व्यवधान)... आप दादा हैं क्या ...(व्यवधान)...बैठ जाइए ...(व्यवधान)...मैं उठा हूं ...(व्यवधान)... आप खुद तीन बार उठे थे ...(व्यवधान)... आप कहते हैं बैठ जाइए ...(व्यवधान)... आप रगेचकर बोलिए ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHIARMAN: (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Pany, you please go to your seat. ...*(Interruptions)* ...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: हम किसी को इंटरवीन नहीं करते ...(व्यवधान)... शांति से बैठते हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROJ. P.J. KURIEN): No, no You go to your seat, ...*(Interruptions)*... You please go to your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...Mr. Pany, take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... Why are you interrupting when your own Members is speaking.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I don't want to quote the name of the State because many people will get offended. Execution of non-existing quantities of work was shown, measurement books for the works were not there. Completion reports were not there, workers were getting wages less than the minimum wage rate, workers were not being paid wages on time. They were supposed to be paid compensation for that but the compensation was not paid. When the CAG asked about this, they said that there was no demand for that. And, it is the whole thing that goes on and on. They show how the figures are unreliable, and so on. Now, Sir I completely...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Karnataka): Mr. Shourie...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Mr. Poojary, I am not yielding. Sir, I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN). Mr. Poojary, He is not yielding.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, he has raised a very pertinent question.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Mr. Poojary, I am not yielding. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Poojary, he is not yielding

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY. I am only supporting you. I am not speaking against you. What I am saying is...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Please don't!

SHRI SURENDRA LATH (Orissa): We don't need your support.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (PROF P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Poojary, please; he is not yielding.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, एक couplet ...(व्यवधान) ... एहसान हम पे इतना कीजिए कि एहसान न कीजिए ...(व्यवधान)... आपकी सपोर्ट का ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHIARMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Are you yielding Mr. Shourie?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: No, Sir.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, this is a parliamentary system.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Poojary, he is not yielding. Please, take your seat. He is not yielding ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: There are Standing Committees. All the Parties are represented there. Whether it is the Public Accounts Committee or any other Committee, when all the party members have unanimously recommended doing away with all the irregularities, the Government was not accepting it. They don't care for the Committee's recommendations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): He is only speaking out his views. Please take your seat.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: What about...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) No, no. Please take your seat. This is not your view; these are Mr. Arun Shourie's views. Please take your seat.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, it is not...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, Mr. Poojary. No, please. You are a senior Member of the Parliament. ...(*Interruptions*)... Your party members would speak. No, no. ...(*Interruptions*)... When your party members speak, you may speak. Please take your seat.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: There was the CAG Report ...(*Interruptions*)... No action was taken ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Your party members would be speaking. Let them reply ...(*Interruptions*)... No, no. ...(*Interruptions*)... Please, Mr. Poojary. Your own people, your party members, would speak. Let them reply. It is his view. Please take your seat ...(*Interruptions*)... No, Mr. Poojary, please take your seat. Please resume your seat. You are a senior Member of this House.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, I am submitting that the Standing Committee had unanimously ...(*Interruptions*)... No action was taken by Government ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): What is this? Mr. Poojary, please don't do this. ...(*Interruptions*)... No, no, please take your seat. He did not yield, then how can you continue talking like this? Please don't do this.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, 'that shows they record cases of tampering of muster rolls by using white fluid and marking 'absent' as 'present and also, over-writing the number of days work was noticed in general.' Do you want me to tell you what the State was for which they have remarked this? There is complete silence! So, Sir, this is the condition of this great, historic measure, which is empowering, and this is the pattern. I shall read to you, Sir, just one paragraph of a field observation on the 11th of February 2008. I shall tell you the name later. This is on the programme very dear to the hon. Minister and he had mentioned it yesterday on the Integrated Child Development Scheme, ICDS. The person goes there and he says, 'we discovered that all data of children at the centre for the past five months, weight, vaccinations, health records, etc. were filled in with pencils. On probing further, I

found that it was done so that in case of an official inspection, the figures could be erased and correct data inserted to make the Centre's performance look good'. Do you want me to tell you who the person is? He is.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. please. He is a Member of the other House. You cannot mention his name. That name will not go on record.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, he is in public domain...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): That is a different thing. That name will not go on record.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: You may take it out. But he is a person whom probably you would find difficult to refute. Now, I shall move on further. The person commenting on it says... Again, you would be surprised by the name of the person. Fortunately, he is not a Member of the other House and so I can take his name. He has said this in the note circulated to all the bigs—"The practice is so widely prevalent in all the States, presumbaly with the connivance of senior officers, that the data reaching the Government of India, according to a recent study, which he quotes, shows only 8 per cent as the overall per cent of malnourished children. कल हमने वृंदा जी को सुना था कि कितने हैं। वे कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट को फिगर मिल रही है कि सिर्फ 8 per cent are malnourished in the case of zero to three years with only one per cent children severely malnourished as against the 46 per cent reported by the National Health and Family Survey. What is equally astonishing is the fact that records show a steep decline in the percentage of malnourished children from 29 per cent to 8 per cent, which is totally at variance with the findings of the various NFH Surveys. "By sending bogus reports, the field officials are thus able to escape from any sence of accountability for reducing malnutrition." It is by Mr. N.C. Saxena, Member, National Advisory Board, and I cannot take the name of the Chairman.

Another great historic thing which Mr. Chidambaram mentioned in his Budget Speech. Sir, is the Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission. He said, " One of my big dreams is that water bodies should be restored." In the next paragraph, it became a pilot project for restoring water bodies. And how is that pilot project to be financed? It is by clubbing five other programmes—SGRY, PMGSY, DPAP, DDP and IWP. उनके फंड्स लेकर मैं पाइलेट प्रोग्राम स्टार्ट करूंगा, फिर पाइलेट वॉटर बॉडीज को रीस्टोर करेगा। उसके बाद में चीजें आती रहीं।

And you see, there is now another Performance Audit Report by the CAG. Again on December 27, 2007 it has not come to the House. मिनिस्ट्री पाइलेट्स उस पर निगरानी कर रहे हैं। and it shows exactly the same thing — 'pipes have been laid, thinking water should be there and 'pipes have been put. Where there is no water source'. Sir, I can give you twenty pages of what the CAG found by field visit. But I want to assume that all this happended because of the State Governments and because of the NDA! Even then, what is the Central Government doing for this great dream of Mr. Chidambaram, which he is taking credit of dreaming? Now actually just as in the NREGS, it can doubt that the allocation has gone down. The food distribution under that head has come down from 68 lakh tonnes to 15 lakh tonnes. It transpires, Gill *Sahab*, that 3 lakh of the habitations which got this drinking water supply and became 'fully covered' category have now relapsed into 'partially covered' and 'not covered at all' category. He found this. But it is a historic measure. Given you this state of affairs, what is the solution. Mr. Chidambaram, that comes up in this Budget? In paragraph 115, he says, "Robust economic growth has thrown up many new challenges. "What is the new challenge?

*Not recorded.

.. "among them the need to put in place effective monitoring, evaluation and accounting systems " I thought that : an old challenge which he was addressing since 2004. What will he do now? Then, he says, "I *think we do not pay enough attention to outcomes* " He has been saying that for four years " as we do to outlays; or to physical targets as we do to financial targets; or to quality as we do to quantity " What will the Government, therefore, do? He says, "Government, therefore, proposes to put in place a Central Plan Schemes Monitoring System that will be implemented as a Plan Scheme of the Planning Commission." He says, "This will monitor 1000 schemes, "which are not working. Then he says, "The intended outcome is to generate . " यह उसके साथ है, क्योंकि आजकल मैनेजमेंट का जमाना है so you cannot just say that there will be another Central scheme. तो अगला सैंटेंस है। "A comprehensive Decision Support System and Management Information System will also be established " "The intended outcome is to generate and monitor scheme-wise and State-wise releases for about 1,000 Central plans and Centrally-sponsored schemes in 2008-09" Now, what is the guarantee that this new scheme of the Planning Commission will work when the other 1,000 schemes are still working ? अब उसके बाद इस पर भी निगरानी के लिए एक स्कीम बनेगी। सर, अब मैं उस scheme पर आता हूं जिसकी आप सब तारीफ कर रहे हैं--लोन वेवर्स स्कीम। इसमें आप जरा देखिए कि क्या lawyerly बारीकी है। एक प्वायंट तो अमर सिंह जी ने बहुत अच्छा बनाया कि because the first speech of Mr Chidambaram in this series as Finance Minister, and he has said that he has been revaled only by the present Prime Minister in presenting five Budgets continuously for a Government . (*Interruptions*) .So, in each Speech, he has claimed that they are doubling the agricultural credit. So, actually from Rs 1,00,000 crores, it is now going to go up this year to Rs 2,80,000 crores

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI S S PALANIMANICKAM: It is 'from Rs. 80,000 crores '

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE. In the 2008-09 Budget, he has said, "As against Rs , 1,00,000 crore that were being dispensed at the time that this Government took office, by March, 2008, Rs , 2,40,000 crores of agriculture credit is being given Target set for 2008-09 is Rs. 2,80,000 crores." But, what is Rs 20,000 crores, is between friends (*Interruptions*) So, I agree with you, Now, if this much money has gone and still farmers are committing suicides, it should alert us to show कि क्रेडिट या तो ठीक जगह पहुच नहीं रहा या अकेले क्रेडिट देने से समाधान नहीं हुआ। इसलिए अब इस सरकार ने क्या किया। कमेटी पर कमेटी बनाई — Swaminathan Commission, Radhakrishna Expert Group on Agriculture Indebtedness; A Vaidyanathan—great friend of Shri Bimal Jalan, hon. Prime Minister, and Shri P. Chidambaram also, I suppose—Task Force on Co-operative Banking; RBI's Working Group on Distressed Farmers headed by Mr Sardara Singh Johl, a distinguished man, RBI's Technical Group to review legislation on money-lending headed by Mr S.C. Gupta इस तरह पांच कमेटियां हुईं। फिर वह कहते हैं—पैकेज पर पैकेज। Sir, there are packages upon packages. I will tell you how First, two per cent remission on interest rate—Rs 1700 crores given सब ने तालियां बजाईं। उसके बाद आया Backward Regions Grants Fund उसका आपको कुछ नहीं पता होगा, मगर वह आ गया। फिर आया --PM's Package for Distressed Farmers in 31 districts—Rs. 16,979 crores. सर, यह बारीकी देखिए; accountability to Parliament — Rs. 16,979 crores in 31 districts. उसके लिए विमल जी ने हमें एक बार गिनवाया था कि गारंटी स्कीम के लिए क्या-क्या स्ट्रक्चर बन रहा है। इसमें State-level Committees were set up. Then, appropriate institutional structure and special purpose co-operatives and community-based organisations were set up. I am reading the Radhakrishna Report Now, the question is, "who is swallowing these packages?" I am asking this because the Radhakrishna Report,

which has, unfortunately, not been read by most Members on that side, actually gives us an account of what is happening to these packages. I will illustrate only that which is, unfortunately, named with the Prime Minister's own name. What does the Radhakrishna Committee says about the Prime Minister's Special Package for 31 districts? He says on pages 74 to 78, " On the disbursement of fresh loans, the Committee observes: the gap in the off-take of fresh credits in three States--यह 4 स्टेट्स के लिए था, राष्ट्रपाल जी। सर, Unfortunately ये तीनों कांग्रेस स्टेट्स हैं। मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता था — Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka— indicates that credit needs of the farmers were not assessed accurately at all. The credit flow targets do not appear to have been based on a proper assessment of the credit absorption capacity of the farms, households, etc. This also calls for greater co-ordination among banks and block-level officials." He says, "On irrigation, utilisation rates varied across the States."

But there is another very interesting point. He says that in the case of major irrigation schemes, delay occurred because of some of them like the Accelerated Irrigation Benefit Programme. Now, just see what happened. A special package was announced. What were its components? It was an existing scheme but because it has now been included in a new package, permission was required from the Planning Commission and from many others including the Ministry of Environment and Forests and also the Tribal Affairs, with which Raja was connected. So, this took delay. Then, the Radhakrishnan Committee Report says, the progress is poor under minor irrigation works--I won't take the names of the States so as not to offend some persons. Next is Watershed Development, Rainwater Harvesting and Check Dams, he says, the progress has been extremely poor in all States. In one of the States, he says, that it is in the rainfall area, and, therefore, they do not have watershed development, and, they do not need it. So, they are trying to acquire knowledge as to how to use this money. A funny thing is that in the case of Andhra Pradesh, the State Government was already availing loan from the Watershed Development at the time when the package was announced. Now, because of new package, they had to switch from loan mode to grant mode and took time due to procedures involved in the conversion. Special package of the Prime Minister!

Then, he says that the process of Watershed Development requires five to six years. But because the implementation period was cut to three years, it could not be completely availed of.

Next point is: Rainwater Harvesting and Construction of Check Dams, which, he says, are a non-starter in most Districts of those 31 Districts. Why? One of the reasons why it was a non-starter was that Chidambaram and others were doing the same habitual trick of putting an existing scheme, dressing it up in a new envelope called, 'Special Package'. So, he says, some States which are implementing the rainwater schemes and enjoying cent per cent subsidy already are reluctant to switch over to the schemes from the Ministry of Agriculture under the Prime Minister's package. Radhakrishnan Report! *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): He mentioned his name in his Budget speech also.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Yes, he mentioned it twice. In the last Budget speech, he said, as soon as the Radhakrishnan Report is received, we will implement it. This is happening.

He then draws a set of lessons. I will only read out one of the lessons. He says, there is no coordination among different agencies while implementing the schemes. Further, no information is available on the impact of the scheme on the people or about the outcome. Sir,

it is a sorry state of affairs in all this. That is the first point about this special package and waiver of 60,000 crore of rupees. You will see what is going to happen. Chidambaram claims all these things and then what actually happens, transpires five years later.

The other question is: who will benefit under this scheme, a question Brinda asked, a question Amar Singh asked with great eloquences. Mr. N.C. Saxena, their Advisor, gives the answer. He says that this waiver is for commercial banks, rural banks and cooperatives. So, he says that it is the influential farmer, the larger farmer, who has contacts with these organisations and who gets these loans. He points out, in fact, it is this larger farmer who doubles the money as the moneylender, takes this money at six and a half per cent and gives it at fifty to hundred per cent, he says this in a note submitted to these high-ups. So, the very man who has prostituted the process is the one man that you are giving the money to.

Second, the Prime Minister's great personal friend, to my personal knowledge because he is also my own personal friend and the friend of Bimal and others, A. Vaidyanathan, appointed by them to head the Task Force on Cooperative Banks. He writes, "The magnitude of outstanding debt of rural households, going by National Sample Survey data", it is a very important point, "is less than the oustanding debt reported by the institutions in the cooperatives and substantially so in the regional rural banks". It is a very important point. So, who is getting that money under the guise of rural and agricultural loans? He points out, "Since both are intended to lend mostly in rural areas, this difference suggests that they also carry a sizeable portfolio of non-household, non-rural loans. The basis of the estimate that the waiver will cost Rs. 60,000 crore is far from clear. There is good reason to believe that a generalised waiver of all overdues will benefit non-rural borrowers to a considerable extent, who have got it under the name of agriculture and so on".

But, the third point is very important and this is given by the, भंडारी साहब भी अभी यही कह रहे थे। There is a table, Sir, in the Radhakrishnan Report giving the breakup of who borrows from whom. In that, I will give you just one example of Andhra Pradesh because this is a State in which there have been long strings of suicides. He says, "In the size of land possessed", I am on this two-hectare business, "the households owning 0.01 hectare of land, 83 per cent of their debt is non-institutional; 0.01 to 0.04 is 87 per cent from the moneylenders; from 0.04 to one hectare, 75 per cent is from moneylenders; from one hectare to two hectares, 73 per cent is from moneylenders". So, you are not touching them at all. They are the ones who are in real distress and that is why Radhakrishnan has said it, and Mr. Chidambaram has made a misleading statement. He says that the Radhakrishnan Committee stopped short of recommending the waiver. So, I am being very bold; I am recommending it. Actually, Radhakrishnan said the opposite. He said that this is not the totality, indebtedness is not the totality of the problem. But, if you are going to deal with this, then, please, give them loans to repay the moneylenders so that they are free of the clutches of the moneylenders and then waive it or do what you want to do. So, Sir, my point there is that this whole balloon which has been created of Rs. 60,000 crores is just a completely misleading thing. I am sorry to use this word. Brinda yesterday said that she did not want to use a harsh word. I also don't want to use the word in my mind. But, the softest word that I can use is that this is a device to fool people for electoral purposes against the advice of the Sardara Singh Johl Committee, against the advice of the Radhakrishnan Committee, against the advice of the Vaidyanathan Committee on this matter.

But, there is a very important point on which I will come about this and about what some very big persons said about the loan waiver in 1990. But, before I do that ...(*Interruptions*)...

वह मैम्बर ऑफ द हाउस हैं, आप वह भी ओब्जेक्ट नहीं कर सकते। What I want to tell you is, first, how the claims are, Sir, the correct word is, 'fraud'. And, I will illustrate it with one example. I can give you ten such examples, but I will illustrate it with one such example and that is on the power sector. Mr. Chidambaram says that — These are very interesting points. He made two points — by the end of March, 2008, we will achieve, please note the words, Commercial Operational Date (COD) on about 10,000 megawatts making the best first year in any Plan period. Please, remember, 10,000 mw. It so happens that Mr. Chidambaram is also the head of a Committee of the Government to try and see that power sector targets are achieved. Do you know, Sir, that the papers there show what? I will come to the second statement he makes in this particular thing like accountability and performance. He says and I will come to that. Ultra Mega Power Projects के बारे में उन्होंने कहा है कि अभी कितने हो गए हैं, कितने होने वाले हैं, मगर, मैं पहले आपको यह बताना चाहता हूं कि यह जो 10,000 MW है, इसको फर्स्ट ईयर में यह कहते हैं कि कम्पलीट कर लिया, COD हो गया। Do you know that of this 3020 mw project, ten plants were claimed by him as a success at the close of the Tenth Plan Period. I have the list with me. Why? Because that was said to be commissioned. This is said to be the COD. What is the difference? COD means that the plant should be in continuous operation at full capacity for at least 472 hours. तो पिछले साल कम्पलीट हो गया, इस साल 72 आवर्स हो गया, दोनों बार काउंट कर लो, दोनों बार ज्यादा होगा। मैं आपको अचम्भा बतलाता हूं, उसमें एक प्लांट है। When I saw the list, I was surprised. Sometimes, Sir, when I mention something to Bimal, he says, 'you are reminding me of our youth.' क्योंकि, ये बड़ी पुरानी चीजें हैं, उसमें एक प्लांट है — Ratnagiri (Dabhol) Block-II — as a thing that has gone on stream now, and for which Mr. Chidambaram claims credit. Do you know that it was completed in the Ninth Plan? In the list of those ten plants is the Kaiga Atomic Power Plant, which you know, Ahluwalia knows, is actually almost shut today because of want of fuel. But credit was claimed. In the other ten plants, he claims again credit for Ratnagiri Block-III, supplying 740 mw which was completed in the 9th Plan. It includes two plants in Purlia which were of the Eighth Plan. In any point, these are the plants that were under construction. Now, Sir, in this Ultra Mega Power Project, पहली स्पीच में इन्होंने कहा कि पांच बन रहे हैं। It is our intention to award these projects before 31st December, 2006. पांच, फिर अगली बार हुआ कि seven more UMPPS are under process and we are confident that at least two more will be awarded in July 2007. नहीं हुए। इस बार कहा कि four will be awarded shortly. अभी नहीं हुए। And it is possible to bring five more UMPPs. As Rashtrapal will say, they did provide, the States extended the required support. But then I looked up at this Green Book. What does it say about action completed? It says that actually five other suitable sites have been identified by the Central Electricity Authority in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Orissa. When I checked up on each one of the sites where records were available with the Government Departments themselves as on 20th February 2008, not one site has been settled. Not one. I can take you through site after site. The records show that correspondence is still going on between the Central Government and the State Governments and there are all sort of things about the site, किसी ने, अभी जहां सूनामी विक्टिम्स को resettled किया था, उनकी साइट किसी ने identify कर दी। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट कहती है, हम तो इनको हटा नहीं सकते, and so on. Not one site has been settled and you will see that Mr. Chidambaram has not said that the site has been finalised. He has said — always watch a lawyer's word — that the site has been identified by the Central Electricity Authority. Then, there is no talk of course of reforms of the power sector. I do not want to labour that. But there are two things which he claims this time and I will come to that. He said, "In 2007-08, the Accelerated Power Development Reforms Project has significantly reduced aggregate technical and commercial losses in 213 towns." It had reduced. "The ARDRP is being restructured to cover all district headquarters in towns with a population of

more than 50,000." Noticed. What is he saying? Two things. It has already reduced these *transmission losses significantly. Secondly, it is being restructured to cover all those towns.* इस बार क्या कहा? इस बार कहते हैं: "The Accelerated Power Development Programme: I am providing Rs. 800 crores for this. However, it is the poor state of transmission and distribution that is a drag on the sector." Last time, that has already been accomplished and is reduced signficiantly. इसके लिए क्या करेंगे? "I propose another national front." Secondly, पिछले साल कहा था: "ARDP is being restructured." इस बार कहा है: "The proposal for restructuring is being finalised. Action again complete." पिछली बार हो गया था, हो रहा था, इस बार अभी सोचा जा रहा है, finalise हो रहा है। पिछली बार था कि losses signficantly कम कर दिए गए हैं, इस बार है: They are in a poor state. *Because, he is counting on the short memory of all of us.*

The same thing, Sir, I could go through with the question of subsidies. Sir,I do not want to take more of your time. Each time he becomes a Finance Minister, he asks for a new study to be done on subsidies. That is what he said in his 2004-05 Budget speech. He said, "Seven years ago, I placed before Parliament the first paper on subsidies. I am now asking the Institute of Public Finance again to do another blueprint." Then, he says in the next Budget speech, "We must now take up the task of restructuring the subsidy regime in a cautious manner." Then, he said in his 2006-07 Budget speech, "It is imperative that you make progress *on this front if you are serious about targeting subsidies of the poor and truly needy.*" Who is not serious? ...(*Interruptions*)... We are serious. Maybe, he is talking of himself. What will you do? "My Ministry has held extensive discussions." Working Groups curs रहेंगे। इस बार पी. एम. ने भी यही राग गाया। "We need to address the problem of mounting subsidies in food. Fertilisers: this is a thing marked to the Planning Commission. This is now over Rs. one lakh crores that are going to be spent this year alone on these three items. *I would like my Cabinet colleagues* in the Planning Commission to reflect what these mean for our development options and what development options these subsidies are shutting out." Do they need fewer schools? ...(*Interruptions*)... He is sitting. Just like Mr. Sitaram Yechury asks in regard to the nuclear deal. He asks, "Do they mean fewer schools, fewer hospitals, fewer scholarships, slower *public investment in agriculture and poorer infrastructure?*" "*It is important that we restructure* subsidies so that only the really needy and the poor benefit from them and all leakages are plugged." Then, who is preventing you from doing this? Not one word since then! "The warnings have been given. The task is completed. Action is complete." Mr. Chidambaram is completely silent on those subsidies, but he talks about only one subsidy. *(Time Bell)* Sir, I *will wind up in a few minutes. You should be as indulgent as you were yesterday, and as Mr.* Deputy Chairman was to Prof. Bhandary just now!

So, what does Mr. Chidambaram say now? Mr. Chidambaram speaks of only one subsidy, *and that is fertiliser. As everybody has mentioned, and yesterday also, it was mentioned, this* subsidy is going to the mills, and not to the farmers. So, we have to do something. So, Mr. Chidambaram will say, "While fertilisers should, indeed, be subsidised, we must find an *alternative method of delivering the subsidy directly to the farmers.*" *Therefore, there will* be another report, and there will be a usual thing, Sir. "The Government intends to implement a *pilot programme in, at least, one district in each State.*"

And what are we told now? This is last year and it was to be done last year. In the Budget Speech he had said it. Now, what does he say? "The modalities for providing an alternative *method of delivering the fertilizer subsidy are being worked out. The Report is being finalised.* Action complete". But Mr. Saxena points out, "As far as the food subsidy is concerned, .. in

2.00 PM

fact, in the entire country only about half the poor has BPL-AAY cards, whereas 17.4 per cent of the richest quintiled has those BPL-AAY cards. तो actually situation यह है, मगर हमारे दोस्त study करवा रहे हैं, गौर फरमा रहे हैं, पायलट्स उड़ा रहे हैं।

Now, I come, Sir, to the two final points and I end there. Once, I think, श्री यशवंत सिन्हा के एक बजट पर चिदम्बरम जी ने कहा था, "This is one of the most under-funded Budgets". Now, look at his own Budget from that angle. Chaudhary Devi Lal and the then Government, the VP Singh Government at that time, announced a waiver of Rs. 10,000 crores. Nineteen ninety-one के बजट भाषण में क्या कहा था - this was on 24th July, 1991--"There is one large component of non-Plan expenditure. That is a burden on the exchequer. I refer to the Government's obligation under the Rural Debt Relief Scheme. Unfortunately, there was gross under-estimation of the total fiscal liability under this Scheme which was introduced last year. In addition to the sum of Rs. 1,500 crores provided in the Revised Estimates of last year, we have to provide another Rs. 1,500 crores this year. But this is not all. We will need a similar provision in the next year. There is such irresponsibility in financing". Who said it? Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then Finance Minister. The fact of the matter is that actually those Rs. 10,000 crores were provided in the Budget and listed unlike this time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, you please wind up.

श्री अरुण शौरी: वह कहते हैं कि "मैं हूं न", "School of Budgeting". इनसे पूछा गया कि पैसा कहां से आएगा, तो उन्होंने कहा कि मैं हूं न। पिछली बार इन्होंने कहा। इन्होंने एक प्रपोजल दिया, like उड़ाते हैं बैलून। Who will salute it? फिर PSUs की equities बेचेंगे, उसे उनकी मौसी ने ही कल शूट डाउन कर दिया। वृंदा जी मेरी बहन है, ये बेचारी तो उनसे डरती रहती हैं। इनसे कहा कि मैं तो होने नहीं दूंगी। Now, they will think again. फिर से थिंकिंग की कॉमेंसमेंट होगी कि अब इसके बाद क्या किया जाए। So, the sum of Rs. 60,000 crores is not provided for. देखिए, लालू यादव जी responsible हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, you conclude.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will tell you how. We are told that the Sixth Pay Commission Report is coming just now. Last time, the Fifth Pay Commission broke the back of many State Governments and the Centre. It took three or four years of herculean effort to get back. The Sixth Pay Commission Report is coming now. There is no provision in the Budget. How is it that Lalu Prasadji thought it prudent to provide Rs. 5,000 crores for the incidence of the Pay Commission in the Railway Budget, but Mr. Chidambaram should not think it prudent to provide anything at all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, you please conclude.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will conclude now. I will take only two minutes. So, this sum of Rs. 60,000 crores is not provided. Another sum of Rs. 30,000 crores or Rs. 40,000 crores is not provided. It will have the same effect on the State Governments. Food subsidy is not provided. He says that it is Rs. 31,000 crores. Fertilizer subsidy is not provided. Petroleum subsidy is not provided. The deficit is going to be double than what he has stated. By a sleight of hand, he makes you believe and says that while the deficit was supposed to be, under the FRBM, 3 per cent of the GDP, I have brought it down; kept it down to 2.5 per cent because I do not provide for any of these. What is the enconomic logic for that?

Sir, the Budget is a symptom of the approach of this Government, that is, to just go on announcing schemes. गिल साहब जानते हैं, अहलुवालिया जानते हैं, हमारे पंजाब में एक कहावत है कि "अग्गे दौड़ ते पिच्छे चौड़" ...(व्यवधान)...

डॉ. एम.एस. गिल (पंजाब): सर, इन्होंने मेरा नाम लिया है, May I say something?

सर, मैन्नू खुशी है कि अरुण शौरी जी ने आज पंजाबी इत्थे official कर दित्ती है।

श्री अरुण शौरी: और सर, यह मुहावरा भी ठीक है - अगे दौड़ ते पिच्छे चौड़ ...(व्यवधान)... Old schemes are grouped, renamed and proclaimed as new. Schemes are announced and then foregotten. Grants and Outlays are announced, as in that Rs. 1,000 crores, Rs. 16 crores are given. Huge grants are announced, but actual allocations don't come. Fallacious claims, as if on that action is completed. Gross irresponsibility as in regard to the Rs. 60,000 crore business. Misleading as on the question of calculating the deficit. Figures cooked up as on power. A gross failure by the yardsticks they have proclaimed, that is not outlays but outcomes Fraudulent propaganda as on Rs. 60,000 crores. my final point is that this is just a symptom of the way the economy has been mismanaged for which we are now getting into a fight. I draw your attention to the Economic Survey. Everybody has talked about it. Yesterday, Brindaji read a devastating quotation of Shri Chidambaram himself on the responsibility of the Finance Ministers to take care of inflation. She said, " I leave it to his conscience as to whether it applies to him or not." When did this problem start?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Don't come to the new point.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, I am concluding. I will take two minutes. The point is, it had started when Shri Sinha and Shri Jaswant Singh were managing, I remember, their intense preoccupation with ensuring adequate food stocks. There are buffer stock norms for wheat and other things. When the Government demitted the office, the buffer stock norm was 16.8 million tonnes. Actually, in the warehouses, it was 24.4. You always had 50 to 60 per cent more and in some months, double the buffer stock norms. So, the market was always conscious of the fact that you would intervene and not allow the prices rise. But by July-October last year, this was reversed. The food stock norm of 26.9, came down to 19.3. The norm for the next month was 16.2 It came down to 12.4. So, it went on decreasing. Today, the food stocks are at an abysmal low. They are lower than the buffer stock norms provided by the experts and that is why the market does not fear for....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (RPOF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: That is compounded by erratic policies. They were like this. Okay, we will has a ban on export of non-basmati rice. Then the ban was lifted, tenders were called for wheat and then the tenders were cancelled. In the end, what happens is, instead of attending to that specific problem of primary commodities, this Government has done exactly what was done in that mid 90s by Dr. Manmohan Singh, that is, to wield an axe to swat a fly and that is monitory policy and higher interest rates. That is what is now compounded. You are getting inflation triggered by primary commodities and because of high interest rates, lower investment and lower index of industrial production, we have been brought into the bind in which we were brought in the mid 90s. The country will pay for that and for this irresponsibility. Thank you.

DR. BIMAL JALAN (Nominated): Sir, I had jotted down a lot of points about the Budget. But, after hearing my friend, Shri Arun Shourie, I don't think much more needs to be said on the Budget itself because everybody is discussing about the Budget speech, --a lot of claims have been made--and I am discarding them. I will just make three points, in the time that I have. One is about the set of issues that Shri Arun Shourie has so brilliantly brought to our attention, and that is the complete failure of our delivery system. This is the state of the

ground. The only point which I want to make for your consideration is that this has nothing to do with which Government is in power. That is the issue I think that we talk, as responsible Representatives of the people or as Nominated Members or as people, who are present in the two Houses. Every Budget speech, every popular speech, every platform claims it. But, Sir, if you look at the Public Delivery System, the issues are systemic. I am sure, everybody present here,--even though a very few of us are present, yet I am taking this opportunity because some of the most important people are still here -- would agree with me that the issues are systemic. I have been listening, in Parliament, to answers to questions about, say, NREGP, or the 'Food for Work' programme or any of the 30 or 40 schemes that he has talked about, or, the schemes certified by the CAG, etc. I would ask my friends to pick up any CAG Report of, say, 1990, 1995, 1998 or 2002, and they would find the same thing. So, the issues that we are talking about are systemic. You take the case of the Central Government. There are 49 Ministries plus another six or seven headed by Ministers of State with Independent Charge, and the amount of work that many of these Ministries do is not enough. So, there is nothing that you can do at the Central Government level except announce policies for the country. If you want to spend something, If you want to do something, if you want to implement something, including NREGP, you need to consult five or ten Ministries, consult the Planning Commission, the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of Urban Development, Rural Development, etc., I would want to say, with all seriousness, to my good friend, Shri Arun Shourie, who is a great scholar, that we have to get into it. He has written a book on 'Governance'. If I recall correctly, he wrote this book before the present Government came to power because I had also written some book which went completely out of the shelf because of his book. Every time any question comes up about implementation, the Centre would say, "This is State's responsibility". If you go through the records of the State Assemblies, you would find that they say, "The Central Government hasn't allocated funds. We are talking to the Planning Commission. We are talking to the Ministry of Finance." Like, yesterday, on SEZs,--somebody called it Spcial Exploitation Zone; somebody called it Special Economic Zone--somebody said, "It is for the States"; somebody said, "It is for the Centre." We is responsible? So, the primeary point which I want to make, as a citizen, is that the people of India, whoever they are or wherever they are, want to know who is responsible. It the Centre is not responsible, the Planning Commission is not responsible, the Ministry of Rural Development is not responsible, the State is not responsible, who then is responsible? There are districts; there are multiple agencies. You appoint people. The new Government comes, and everybody is transferred. There are thousands of transfers of senior officers in one year. So, this is the first point which I want to make.

Now, one of the brilliant speeches in this House that I heards was by Shrimati Brinda Karat yesterday. It was the most brilliant and absolutely outstanding speech because of the breadth of her coverage from fiscal issues, financial issues to health and education, as well as the way she put it forward based on her field experience, was most outstanding.

But she raised this issue about fiscal deficit, low expenditure and so on. Now, I want to bring to here notice that allcoation of expenditure, fiscal deficit, are not really important in the kind of delivery failure that she was talking about. It is fixing responsibility, ensuring accountability, for some one, for some Ministry somewhere and that, I would urge, and I will draw your attention to, is something that we should be doing.

The second, Point I want to make is about the farm waiver scheme. The farm waiver scheme and the whole agricultural issue that we have talked about, the 2.6 per cent rate of growth, and so on, do require attention. Something needs to be done there. On that, I can say,

there can be no disagreement in the country, at any level, that that requires attention, that irrigation and so on are things that we want to do. But there are long-term issues and there are short-term issues. I think we should confine ourselves, at the moment, to the relief scheme which has been annoucned by the hon. Finance Minister. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, the point I was making was about the long-term issues. Yes, the Swaminathan Committee Report has to be implemented. It must be implemented. On the relief scheme, there is a problem. Sir, as Parliament, we have to apply our minds. First, it would have been nice if this scheme was put in the Budget Speech or in the Budget documents May be, the Finance Minister would announce in his reply what he wants to do. Firstly, everybody agrees that relief has to be given for farmers' suicides and where indebtedness is great, where the problem is serious. So, that is not an issue.To my mind, even the Rs. 60,000 crores is not a big issue. If it requires a hundred thousand crores to relieve the farmers of suicides and to improve agriculture, we should be prepared to do that. The problem with the scheme, from whatever limited information one has read in newspapers, is the issue of, what economists call, 'adverse selection', that the benefit is confined to those who do not pay, and it may not help your suicides because those who have paid in the same district they would not get the benefit. So, I have a suggestion now, just as on the last point I made a positive suggestion that you should fix responsibility, accountability and decide who has to do what. My suggestion is that if we are interested in giving relief to farmers in the kind of circumstances where in a farmer is, either in drought or something like that, then the best thing would be to have an "automatic" scheme, which can be done. Now, we have very good meteorological units in the country and we have arid zones, rainfed areas and so on. Now, if, in certain districts, the actual rainfall is, say, 33 per cent, or, 50 per cent less than the average rainfall over the last three or four years, then, in those districts, there should be a relief scheme. You won't be able to take the credit in a particular year! But, at least, something would happen to benefit the farmers and, then, you can distinguish between the small plots where the automatic scheme can give you relief or debt waiver for both repayment, principle as well as interest. Then, in rainfed areas, you can have an automatic formula for providing reschedulement of loans and interest on small farmers for large farms, you can provide reschedulement of loans including outstanding interest. I think it can be done. So, what I would urge on the second point is only this. If there is a consensus in the Standing Committee on Finance or wherever it is, what I would urge the Finance Minister and the Minister of State, Shri Bansal, who looks into these things with great clarity, is to revisit this whole programme. Let us not get bogged down. And even if we get bogged down, it will probably be only in this year, and not something which is on the ground and we revisit it again, we have suides, and we again have a problem the next year and so on. Please think of an automatic scheme which can be devised and I am prepared to offer and contribute whatever I can. Let us put ourselves together and we will try and work it out because farmers are more important than winning the arguments in the House.

The third and final point is that there is a lot of discussion — and this is one of the points that I have written about also; I will make it very briefly and this is — about India's real economy.Let us start with the assumption that India's fundamentals are strong. The second set of issues which keep coming in the newspapers as well as in our discussion is with regard to whether global recession, US recession, would affect us or it would not affect us, and so on and so forth.

Sir, the point I want to make is that there is a disjuncture today between the real economy which, even at the best of circumstances, at current prices, is growing at 13 per cent, and, say, the financial economy and the rest of the world. So, there is a triangular problem that if

in the rest of the world there is a recession, what you would find is that your bubble in the stock market would be pricked. Do you know, last year, in 2007, you would have earned a 70 per cent rate of return in dollar terms, if you invested in Indian market? Seventy per cent! So, we have a problem of excess capital flows which the Finance Minister himself has mentioned in his Budget Speech, and he said he will take some measures. We have delayed. We are facing a bubble, the bubble is correcting itself, but the effect of what is going on abroad is going to affect India's real economy indirectly because you could see bankruptcies; you could see that banks are not able to pay their debts; you would see that rate is over-extended and people are coming. I mean to say that the same thing which has happened in the United States which is such a vast global economy, which is such a vast economy. Ours is a relatively small economy, where huge amount of capital flows are chasing a few scrips. They are chasing a few scrips because they all got very high tax free return last year. So, this is a very, very vital issue, that we don't have an even playing field. If you invest in bank deposits, you would earn four per cent after tax or five per cent after tax. Sorry, I went into the increase in the rate of short-term capital gains. Now, just think of the uneven playing field in the financial world. If you were a Deputy Secretary in the Government of India, who has worked hard to prepare this Budget, and you had a short term capital gain, the rate of tax on that would be higher than the effective rate of tax on your income. You know, 10 per cent here and 15 per cent there. But, if you are somebody who is earning in crores and crores of rupees and your effective rate of taxation is say, 30 per cent, you will still pay 15 per cent, that you will pay lower. The Deputy Secretary will pay higher. So, Sir, I did want to speak on this — There were other things on which I wanted to speak - but I was inspired by Shri Arun Shourie's speech. Sir, in order to be more positive, we have to move now in the new circumstances to creating a level-playing field in the financial system and in the fiscal policy. You can choose whatever you want to do, but it has to have some relation with the rest of the economy, with the real economy, and not something which is only in the air. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI A. ELAVARASAN (Tamil Nadu): *Hon'ble Vice-Chairman, Let me thank at the outset the Chair for giving me an opportunity to have allowed me to participate in the discussion on the Union Budget for the year 2008-2009. I would also like to thank before I could commence my speech to Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma for having enabled me to participate in this discussion by way of making me a Member of this august House.

I would like to express my disappointment over this Budget which has been prepared with the forthcoming Lok Sabha election in mind and has been given a look that it is a beneficial one to the public which in fact is not true.

Right from 2004, we have been watching the performance of this Government and the allocation of funds for various schemes which are mismatching thereby making the consecutive budget appealing but not effective and useful to public. I would like to point out that in the last three and half years this Government has not evolved plans and projects with a vision. Though funds have been earmarked whether they have reached the target is a question. I would like to emphatically say that the plan benefits have not reached the masses.

Let us take agricultural sector. The agricultural loan waiver is any eye-wash announcement. It is claimed that 60,000 crores of rupees crop loan waiver is being extended. This has no correlation with the budget because there is no budget provision for this loan waiver. These are pertaining to loans extended by the scheduled banks. These are considered by those banks to be bad debts. The Finance Minister referred to this loan as to have been waived.

*The speech was originally delivered in Tamil

This may not be really beneficial to the farmers because one hectare limit for marginal farmers and two hectare for small farmers have been fixed. It is also disappointing that there will be 25 per cent of waiver if the entire loan amount is repaid at one go. The Minister has also stated that Government would pay back the 60,000 crores of rupees in the next three years. It is to be noted that the tenure of the Government itself will come to an end in less than next fifteen months. I wonder how this Minister has announced that the loan amount would be paid back to the Banks in three years time. I am rather skeptical about it. I also feel that it is a subtle warning to the small and marginal farmers that they maynot get the benefits of loan waiver if they fail to vote back this Government to power again. This is our apprehension. It is to be noted that most of the agriculturists have taken loan from the private money lenders. It is also to be noted that 1.5. lakhs of farmers have committed suicide in the last one decade. Most of them had take loan from the Private money lenders at an exhorbitant interest rate.

It will be of no use to the farmers if it is to remain a pre-condition that farmers owning less than two hectares alone would become eligible for this loan waiver. The worst hit states like Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra whose agriculture itself is a disaster may not get any benefit through this announcement. The Vidharbha district, in which the number of farmers' suicide deaths were the highest in the country, has got many farmers who own more than two hectares of land but still live in penury. In arid regions the quantum of land owning has no meaning. Hence I feel this announcement is nothing but an eye-wash.

If this Government is really serious about encouraging farmers this loan waiver scheme must be applicable to farmers who own ten acres of land in irrigated areas and fifteen acres of land in arid areas that are rain-fed. This loan waiver must be extended to farmers who have taken loan from the private sector banks too. I still have a doubt whether a proper policy has been evolved to extend loan waiver genuinely to the farmers. Whether this announcement will be changed through another Bill remains a mystery.

There is a saying in Tamil that a farmer cannot have anything left behind whatever that he puts in agriculture if he is to make value calculation. I know that the Finance Minister knows this well. This Finance Minister who submits the income and expenditure of this country may not know about the expenses involved in cultivating an acre of land. If he had known that he would have fixed the MSP for paddy as Rs. 1500/- instead of Rs. 1000/- per quintal. I hail from an agriculturist family, hence I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister who has presented the budget for the year 2008-2009. Raising the bund would cost Rs. 500/- per acre, it costs Rs. 1800/- to plough the land, seeding costs Rs. 400/-, preparation of seedings costs Rs. 1500/-, replanting costs Rs. 1000/-, fertilizers would cost Rs. 3000/-, weeding costs Rs. 1800/-, harvesting costs. Rs. 2000/-. Totally it comes to Rs. 12,000/-. Interests and other expenses would bring it to a gross of Rs. 15,000/- per acre for cultivation. Assuming that the yield is ten quintal per acre the returns would not go beyond Rs. 10,000/-. That a farmer faces a loss of Rs. 5000/- every time as he spends Rs. 15,000/- and get back a mere Rs. 10,000/- per acre. Farmers resort to suicide deaths because of these factors.

The Union Government imported wheat from the International markets in the year 2006-2007 at the cost of Rs. 1600 per quintal whereas the same Union Government was paying just Rs. 750/- per quintal. Was it not a contradiction? I urge upon the Government to explain as to why it was necessary to import at a higher cost when the minimum support price the Government offered was less. When I look at this practice and policy of this Government to import wheat, I am reminded of a song from our Leader, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr. M.G.R.

"What is lacking in this country, why should we be depending on other countries,

let us toil earnestly in our field which would enhance our image in other countries"

The Indian agriculturists are capable of cultivating throughout the year. They should be extended with all possible concessions to increase our food production. Thereby we must give up our habit of looking forward to other countries for food grain imports.

Agriculture is the back bone of our economy. If our back bone is affected we would be pushed to coma stage. Our agriculturists are in this condition. If the Government is really concerned with the farmers, all the loans must have been waived. Farmers must get loan at reduced rate. Irrigational facilities must be augmented. Quality seeds, non-chemical pesticides and fertilizers, remunerative price for the agricultural produce alone can improve the lot of the farmers. My esteemed colleague the agricultural scientists Dr. M.S. Swaminathan has recommended to the Government that farmers must get remunerative price. I urge upon this Government to bring about another Green Revolution utilizing advanced technology while increasing the agricultural production with an enhanced minimum support price.

Hon'ble Finance Minister has stated that the Integrated Child Development Programme gets Rs. 6300 crores this year. I would like to know whether Rs. 5293 crores earmarked last year was fails properly. The U.N. World Food Programme stated that 44% of our Indian Children are malnourished. The failure of ICDS is the reason behind it. Every year 2.1 million of our children under five meet with death due to mal-nutrition and lack of medical care. I would like to point out that during the Golden Rule of our leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma an 18 point plan was evolved for Child and Women Development. That was a pioneering project of its kind in India. Similarly in September 2002 a policy was evolved by the then Tamil Nadu Government to wipe out the problem of mal-nutrition. I would like to impress upon this Government to have a lesson or two from that successful implementation at the hands of our leader to evolve a policy to wipe out the problem of mal-nutrition and under-nourishment.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, this Union Government has earmarked Rs. 300 crores for desalination project in Chennai. In order to provide drinking water to the Capital city of Tamil Nadu, the Union Government had earlier stated that Rs. 1000 crores would be provided. But now this allocation has been scaled down. I am afraid that this has been done so if only to see that this project do not take off.

Defence gets a mere 10% increase than last year. Non-plan expenditure is pegged at Rs. 57,593 crores. Capital expenditure would be Rs. 48,007 crores. But at the same time internal security gets lesser allocation. We have been witnessing and learning from the media every day that extremism and terrorism are on the increase in the country. Yesterday I was watching a TV programme in which it was pointed out that the Naxals have prepared their budget for the next year in which they have set apart 60 crores of rupees to buy arms and ammunition. Naxals are in dominant position Now. This is because the Union Government is ineffective and oblivious of the menace of extremism at the hand of Naxalites. This only proves a point that this Government is lackadaisical towards Internal Security of the country. I have several instances to point out. When our leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma was in power in Tamil Nadu, she had a firm control over the moves of extremists, terrorists and Tamil Tigers. The porous borders of Tamil Nadu are not that safe now is what we understand from the news that rocket launchers and bombs and cache of arms including AK 47 rifles have been unearthed from the shores of Rameswaram in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, what is he speaking? He is making his maiden speech. But, what he is saying is the law and order problem of the State...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please don't interrupt. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI A. ELAVARASAN: Every day the fishermen get in their nets the arms used by the Tamil Tigers. Tamil Nadu Police have found out the transportation of raw-materials needed for the manufacturing of bombs by the Tamil Tigers. Last year in Chennai separate parts of rocket launchers to be used by the Naxalites in Andhra Pradesh were confiscated.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: He should speak on the Budget. He is speaking on the State subjects ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please do not interrupt...(*Interruptions*)... Please do not interrupt...(*Interruptions*)...

DR. K. MALAISAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, he is a senior Member of this House. He should know that when a Member makes his maiden speech, he should not be obstructed...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI A. ELAVARASAN: This catch was made in Koyambedu and Ambathur. Such a consignments were intercepted and confiscated by Andhra Police Force too. To go a step further I would like to point out that in the constituency of our Finance Minister Shri P. Chidambaram a Municipal Chairman belonging to the Ruling Party of the State was killed by the triggering of a remote bomb. The entire country has been watching this.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: He should speak on the Budget...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please do not interrupt. You can reply when your turn comes.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, we are not interrupting. Sir, whether it is maiden speech or otherwise, hon. member has to confine himself to the subject.

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu): He is speaking on Budget allocation for internal security...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Budget allocation for internal security has nothing to do with the killing of people...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RUDRA NARAYAN PANI (Orissa): He is speaking on the Budget.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Sir, he is very much speaking on the Budget...(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Elavarasan, I am not curtailing your time. But, there is an understanding that voluntarily you will restrict your timing.

SHRI A. ELAVARASAN: This only shows that both the Government at the Centre and the State of Tamil Nadu are not attaching importance to Internal Security.

Hence, I urge upon the Union Government to release more funds to Internal Security. The thirteen internal Security Forces like BSF and CRPF must be strengthened with advanced technology.

While winding up my speech I would like to point out that this Budget, the annual statement of income and expenditure of the Union Government is full of luring announcement, but adds up to the burden on the back of the poor of this country. Hence, I would like to say that this budget is anti-people in the garb of being populist.

श्री शरद यादव (बिहार): महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि वक्त की बहुत कमी है और आपके पास लम्बी लिस्ट है। मैं इस बजट के मामले में कुछ ही बातें कहना चाहता हूं। जो खजाना मंत्री यहां बैठे हैं, उनसे मेरा एक निवेदन यह है कि आपने किसानों के लिए जो राहत घोषित की है, मेरे लिहाज़ से पिछले 4 वर्षों में आपने यह त्रासदी बरसों-बरस से चल

[श्री उपसभापति पीठासीन हुए]

रही है। यह मैं पक्ष या विपक्ष के नाते नहीं कह रहा हूं, हमारी सरकार के जमाने से भी किसानों की जो तकलीफ है और दुख है, वह बढ़ता ही गया है। आपने राहत घोषित की है, तो मैं आपके माध्यम से स्मरण करा दूं कि इस देश में कई बार ढोल पीटे जाते हैं। कभी "गरीबी हटाओ" का नारा दिया गया था। आज कई दशक हो गए हैं, क्या हाल है गरीबों का, क्या हाल है देश की बहुसंख्यक जनता का? इसे इस सदन का हर आदमी जानता है कि हम जितना बोलते जाते हैं, हमारा जितना प्रचार होता जाता है, गरीबी उतनी बढ़ती जाती है। चाहे उस तरफ के लोग हों या चाहे इस तरफ के लोग हों, मैं अपने को भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी भी सरकार दो-तीन बार रही है, लेकिन यह मामला कुछ ऐसा बिगड़ा हुआ है कि इस देश का जो बहुसंख्यक समाज है, उसकी जिन्दगी संवारने के लिए मैं मानता हूं कि हमें लगातार प्रयास करने होंगे। देश की आजादी की अगुवाई करने वाले सबसे बड़े नेता महात्मा गांधी जी थे। वह बराबर कहते थे कि किसी भी राज की बोली पर मत जाना, उसके भाषण पर मत जाना, उसके प्रचार पर मत जाना, अपने आसपास चारों तरफ देखना — इस देश में अंतिम आदमी का मतलब बहुसंख्यक लोग है, जो दिहाड़ी मजदूर है, जो रोज कमाता है रोज खाता है। आप इस जगह जहां बैठे हैं, इस से एक किलोमीटर कहीं चलने का काम करेंगे तो वह कहीं-न-कहीं आपको मिल जाएगा। वह कहते थे कि याद रखना कोई भी राज, दिल्ली या लखनऊ वाला, आजादी के बाद आएगा और वह बोलेगा कि हमने यह कर दिया, हमने वह कर दिया, वह कर दिया, तब उसकी बात का यकीन मत करना, वह जो अंतिम आदमी है, उसके चेहरे को देखना तब पहचानना कि ऊपर का आदमी जो बोल रहा है, वह ठीक बोल रहा है या नहीं।

प्रधान मंत्री जी ने एक बात कही कि अर्जुन सेनगुप्ता की जो रिपोर्ट है वह 2004 की है या 2005 की है उसमें उन्होंने कहा कि 78 परसेंट आदमी 20 रुपए रोज पर है। इस तरह चाहे वह राज रहा हो चाहे यह राज रहा हो या किसी का राज रहा हो, हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब आदमी की समस्याओं का समाधान कारगर तरीके से नहीं हो पाया है। और वे बहुसंख्यक लोग कहां रहते हैं, वे शहरों के स्लम्स में रहते हैं। वे यहां सेवा करते हैं, घरों में सेवा करते हैं, बाहर करते हैं और रास्ते बनाते हैं। उनकी बड़ी तादाद शहरों में भी है, उनकी बड़ी तादाद गांवों में भी है। उनकी जिंदगी, जैसे आजादी की उम्र सरकती जाती है, वैसे ही उनकी जिंदगी भी लाचारी, गुरबत व तबाही के किनारे पर और सरकती जाती है।

आपने एक कदम यह उठाया है कि आप इस देश के किसानों के कर्ज माफ करेंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश का जो यह 60 हजार करोड़ रुपया जाएगा, यह भी उन्हीं की कमाई ज्यादा है, जो इस देश में पसीना बहाकर दौलत बनाते हैं। उन्हीं की दौलत जब उनके पास पहुंचायी जा रही है तो मैं सोचता हूं कि सरकार ने पूरी तरह से जो उसे होम वर्क करना चाहिए, वह ठीक से नहीं किया है। मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जब खजाना मंत्री यहां बोले तो मैं बहुत कोशिश करता रहा कि किस सूबे का कितना कर्जा माफ हुआ? महाराष्ट्र का कितना माफ हुआ, तमिलनाडु का, केरल का कितना कर्ज माफ हुआ है, मध्य प्रदेश का, बिहार का, उत्तर प्रदेश का कितना माफ हुआ है, यह ब्रेक अब तक आ जाना चाहिए था। यदि यह आ जाता तो यह जो बहस है, यह ज्यादा कारगर हो जाती। उससे सुधार का रास्ता बन जाता। महोदय, यदि राहत पहुंचाना है तो जो क्षेत्रीय विषमता है, जो पूरे देश का नक्शा है, उसको संतुलित कर के पहुंचाएंगे, उसको proportionate कर के पहुंचाएंगे। महोदय, मैंने अखबारों में रिपोर्ट पढ़ी कि केरल में कितने लोग हैं यानी फर्क ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बोलिए।

श्री शरद यादव: यदि चर्चा हो जाए तो कोई बात नहीं, मैं उतना समय ले लूंगा।

श्री उपसभापति: जब बात करने वाले ज्यादा होते हैं तो हर आदमी चाहता है कि सब को preference दूं। It is very difficult.

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार): सर, कुछ समय दे दें।

श्री उपसभापति: आपकी पार्टी का टोटल समय हो गया है। I want announce here that the parties which have completed their things, their Members will not be given a chance. ...*(Interruptions)*... Your Party's total time is over. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री राघवेन्द्र प्रसाद: सर, दो-तीन मिनट दे दें।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then, you have to take a chance in the end. ...*(Interruptions)*... जब तक यह डिबेट खत्म नहीं हो जाती, हाउस चलेगा। तो आप इंतजार कीजिए, अगर मौका मिल जाता है तो बात कर लीजिए, बस।

श्री शरद यादव: सर, हमारी दिक्कत यही है कि जरा सी भी अगर कहीं इधर-उधर आवाज हो जाये तो हमारी बहस deviate हो जाती है।

श्री उपसभापति: देखिए यहां भी हो रही है।

श्री शरद यादव: अब हमारी दिक्कत है। मैं यह बात खजाना मंत्री, वित्त मंत्री जी से जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि अब तक यह बात आ जानी चाहिए थी कि किस सूबे में कितना मिला? यह बात डिबेट के पहले आ जानी चाहिए थी। इससे मेरा अनुमान है कि आप से यह बहुत बड़ी गफलत हो गयी, क्योंकि कहीं कोऑपरेटिव सिस्टम ठीक है, कहीं नहीं है, कहीं बैंक का सिस्टम गांव की तरफ ज्यादा कारगर है और कहीं नहीं है। यानी कई सूबों में बैंक्स के बारे में लोगों को मालूमात ज्यादा है, कई इलाकों में बहुत लोगों को याद ही नहीं है, उनके दिमाग में ही नहीं है, उनके मन में ही नहीं है। खासकर जो ट्राइबल एरियाज हैं, वहां उनको मालूम ही नहीं है कि कोई खजाना या कोई बैंक होता है। वे जानते ही नहीं हैं। उनकी बुद्धि और उनकी सीमा ऐसी है कि उन्होंने रेल तक नहीं देखी है, विकास के किसी तरह के मामले को उन्होंने देखा नहीं है। वे लोग विकास की सभ्यता से बहुत दूर हैं। यह जो कर्ज माफी का है, हर सूबे में यह कितना-कितना माफ हुआ है? आपके लिए यह जानकारी देना एक-दो दिन की बात है, यह आपके हाथ में है और सदन को आप इसकी खबर दे सकते हैं। यदि इस खबर को लेकर, इसके आंकड़ों को लेकर हम यहां बहस करते, तो जो क्षेत्रीय विषमता है, सूबे से सूबे की विषमता है, एक सूबे के एक इलाके से इलाके के बीच का फर्क है, वह सामने आता। यह जो फर्क है, हमने इसे कभी मिटाया नहीं है, इसे बढ़ाया है। जो देश के महानगर हैं, आपके विंध्य के नीचे, इसमें आपका कोलकाता है, आपका चेन्नई है, आपका बैंगलूरू है। यह दिल्ली हिंदी प्रदेशों के बीच में एक ऐसी जगह है, जहां रोजगार, धंधा, उद्योग सब कुछ है, बाकी जगह तो कुछ नहीं। जहां तक मुम्बई का है, जोशी जी बैठे हैं, यहां मुंबई में जो है, वह खाली मुंबई के पुरुषार्थ से ही सब नहीं हो गया। पुरुषार्थ उनका है, लेकिन इतना पुरुषार्थ नहीं है कि खाली उनके पुरुषार्थ से मुंबई इतनी ज्यादा तेजी से आगे बढ़ी हो। वहां रिजर्व बैंक है, सारे कार्पोरेट हाउस वहां हैं, सारे के सारे कार्पोरेट हाउस के रजिस्ट्रेशन का या दूसरे काम का, सबका ठिकाना वहीं है, स्टेट बैंक का हैडक्वार्टर वहां है, इसलिए वह सारे देश के खजाने की राजधानी बन गई है। कुछ अपने पुरुषार्थ से बनी, लेकिन उसमें इन सबका भी योगदान है।

महोदय, मैंने आपसे निवेदन किया कि इस देश में महानगर भी हैं, जहां रोजगार, धंधा और उद्योग है, वह भी विंध्य के नीचे है और अंग्रेजों के जमाने से है। हमने आजादी के बाद उसको दुरुस्त करने का काम नहीं किया, अभी मैं उस बहस में नहीं जाऊंगा, क्योंकि उपसभापति जी मुझे समय नहीं देंगे।

श्री उपसभापति: आपकी पार्टी का समय 16 मिनट है।

श्री शरद यादव: सर, आप कहें, तो मैं अभी बैठ जाऊं।

श्री उपसभापति: नहीं, नहीं। यह मैं कैसे कहूं? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री शरद यादव: सर, मैंने कहा, आपका जब आदेश कर देंगे, मैं बैठ जाऊंगा।

श्री उपसभापति: शुक्रिया।

श्री शरद यादव: सर, जो विंध्य के ऊपर उत्तर भारत का हिस्सा है, उसकी अपनी कई तरह की समस्याएं हैं। सामूहिक चीजों को चलाने का काम, जिसको कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट कहते हैं, उसको चलाने की आदत दक्षिण भारत को ज्यादा है।

मैं उसकी तारीफ करता हूं। यह अच्छी बात है, लेकिन उत्तर भारत में जो कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट है, जैसे यहां सरकारी बसें चलीं, बहुत तरह के निगम बने, वे टूट गए, ध्वस्त हो गए। कोऑपरेटिव बैंक का जो सिस्टम है, वह जितना महाराष्ट्र में व्यवस्थित है, उतना मध्य प्रदेश में नहीं है, उतना राजस्थान में नहीं है, बल्कि उससे और ज्यादा खराबी की तरफ जहां बढ़ जाता है, वह उत्तर प्रदेश है, बिहार है, असम है। आज नॉर्थ-ईस्ट में तो बुरी हालत है, वहां तो आप जो चीज दिल्ली से पहुंचा रहे हैं वह भी जमीन पर नहीं पहुंच रही है। अब जो उनकी खुद की पूंजी है वह भी वहां की जमीन पर नहीं पहुंचती है। अभी मुझे उस पर ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहना है। ...(व्यवधान)... आप तो बहुत अच्छा बोले हैं, हमने तो आपका ट्रांसलेशन सुना है।

उपसभापति जी, एक तो यह जो क्षेत्रीय विषमता का है, चारों तरफ सूबे के सूबे के विकास की विषमता का है, आपने इसका कोई ख्याल नहीं किया। दूसरा मुद्दा मैं आपके सामने यह रखना चाहता हूं कि आपने यह दो हैक्टेयर कर दिया, पांच एकड़ कर दिया, लेकिन आप अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि इस देश में जमीन पर सीलिंग है, जमीन पर एक मर्यादा है कि जो सिंचित इलाके की जमीन है उसकी सीलिंग अलग है और जहां बरसात पर खेती है उस जमीन पर खेती के लिए 5 एकड़, 10 एकड़, 20 एकड़ और कई जगह तो 21 एकड़ भी है। सिंचित इलाके में कम है, मेरे इलाके में ज्यादा एकड़ पर सीलिंग है। तो जहां सिंचित इलाका है और जहां बरसात पर खेती होती है, उसका आपने ख्याल नहीं किया। आप राहत दे रहे हैं, राहत की आपने घोषणा तो की है, मगर मुझे नहीं पता कि आप उसको जमीन पर कैसे पहुंचाएंगे? यानी हर चीज में, जो 60 बरस में हमने की है, किसी तरह की भी राहत नहीं दी। जैसे आपने अभी गारंटी स्कीम चलाई है, आपने उसको भी इसी तरह से लागू किया है। होना यह चाहिए था कि सूबे के लोगों को विश्वास में लेकर, उनकी वास्तविक कठिनाई क्या है, वास्तविकता के चलते उसमें रोजगार कैसे उपलब्ध होगा, जिसका आपने ऐलान किया है, वह सपना जमीन पर कैसे उतरेगा, इसे देखा जाता। आप पूरे सूबे के लोगों को बुलाइए। आपने गारंटी स्कीम में उनके काम बांट दिए कि ये-ये काम कर सकते हैं, ये-ये काम नहीं कर सकते, आपने flexibility नहीं रखी। इस तरह आप सिर्फ योजना का ढोल पीट रहे हैं। इस देश में ढोल आप ही नहीं पीट रहे हैं, 60 बरस से इस देश में जो भी आदमी यहां आया, वह ढोल पीटता रहा है।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में यदि किसी एक चीज में उपलब्धि हुई थी तो वह थी खाद्यान्न सुरक्षा, लेकिन वह आपने चौपट कर दी। मैं उसके मामले में आपको दोषी मानता हूं क्योंकि आपके आने के बाद वह चौपट हो गई। कोई भी सरकार, चाहे कांग्रेस की सरकार रही हो, चाहे यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार रही हो, चाहे वह वी॰पी॰ सिंह की सरकार रही हो, चाहे वह अटल जी की सरकार रही हो, सबने उसको संवारा था, बढ़ाया था, लेकिन जो प्रिक्योरमेंट था, उसको आपने खत्म कर दिया, जो 30-40 बरस में ठीक जगह आ गया था, उसमें आप प्राइवेट लोगों को ले आए। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आपके यहां अनाज की कमी नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री जी, आप मेरी बात को ध्यान से सुनिए, चाहे आप इसकी जांच कर लेना कि आपके आने के बाद जो एशियन व्हीट बोर्ड है, कारगिल है, आई॰टी॰सी॰ है, जो होटल चलाते हैं, इनको आपने कह दिया कि जाकर खरीद लो। हमारे यहां मोनोपली प्रिक्योरमेंट था, मोनोपली उसका नाम नहीं था, FCI अकेली एक संस्था थी और मैं जब फूड मिनिस्टर था तो मैंने उसका विस्तार असम तक कर दिया था। FCI जैसी कई संस्थाएं हैं और जैसे हर संस्था में गड़बड़ होती है, वैसे ही FCI में भी गड़बड़ है, मैं उसके बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूं। लेकिन गड़बड़ का मतलब क्या यह है कि यदि रोड में पैसा खाया जाता है तो आप रोड ही नहीं बनाएंगे? एक संस्था थी, एक रास्ता था, जिससे आप प्रिक्योरमेंट करते थे, लेकिन जब से आप आए, आपकी सरकार आई, आपने यह काम कर दिया। आपके यहां उत्पादन आपके देश की जरूरत से ज्यादा हुआ, लेकिन आपके गोदाम खाली पड़े हैं, आप बाहर से अनाज मंगा रहे हैं। यदि आप ठीक खरीद करा लेते तो आपका कई वर्षों का घाटा पूरा हो जाता। कभी-कभी आप कहते हैं कि हमारे जमाने में एक्सपोर्ट हो गया। 600 लाख टन अनाज हमारे पास था, क्या करते, क्या उसको समुद्र में फैंकते? उसको बेचा और उसकी जो पक्की कीमत मिलनी चाहिए थी, जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय बाजार में थी, वह मिली। लेकिन, आपने आने के बाद जो संकट नहीं था, वह संकट आपने खड़ा कर दिया। आप कहेंगे नहीं, लेकिन साझा सरकार है। जो क्रिकेट मंत्री हैं, उनसे आप बोल नहीं सकते। इस सरकार की सबसे बड़ी त्रासदी यह है कि जो आपके साथ साझा में शरीक हैं, उनसे आप बोल नहीं सकते, यह आपकी मजबूरी है और आपकी इस मजबूरी का फल देश भुगत रहा है। तो जो फूड सिक्योरिटी थी, आपने उसको तबाह किया। वित्त मंत्री जी मुझे मिले थे, मैंने उनसे बहुत विस्तार से कहा, इस मामले में नहीं, 23,000 की सब्सिडी है, यह जो पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन सिस्टम है, यह खजाने से आप ही दे रहे हैं। आप दो करोड़ अति निर्धन लोगों को अनाज दे रहे हैं। वह फैसला हमने हमारे जमाने में किया था, लेकिन वह अब भी निर्धन के पास नहीं पहुंच रहा है।

यानी जो राहत आपने दी है, वह जमीन तक कैसे जाएगी? पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन सिस्टम देश के कई सूबों में तो बहुत अच्छा है और कई सूबों में पूरी तरह से चौपट हो गया है, बर्बाद हो गया है। आपने एक मीटिंग भी नहीं बुलाई, बैठक नहीं बुलाई, मैंने आपसे निवेदन किया था, आपकी सरकार से निवेदन किया था, प्रधानमंत्री जी बैठे थे, उनसे भी कहा था कि आप मुख्य मंत्रियों के जिम्मे लगाइए, इसका पीछा करिए और देखिए कि आप गारंटी स्कीम में जो पैसा दे रहे हैं, आपने किसानों को जो राहत दी है, यह उन तक कैसे पहुंचेगी। आज जो PDS है, कई सूबों में वह बरबाद और तबाह हो गया है। तो हर चीज बिगड़ती है। आपका तन रोज गंदा हो जाता है, तो क्या आप नहाते नहीं हैं? रोज आपका घर गंदा हो जाता है, क्या आप झाड़ू नहीं लगाते हैं? मानव समूह है, उसमें बिगाड़ होगा, उसमें कई तरह की खराबी आएगी। राज का क्या काम है? लोकतंत्र में आपके जिम्मे इतनी बड़ी जिम्मेदारी क्यों सौंपी गई है? आपकी जिम्मेदारी है कि आप बीमारियों का लगातार पीछा करें और अच्छाइयों को पूरी तरह से फैलाने का काम करें, यह आपके जिम्मे है, लेकिन गरीबों को जो राहत मिलती है, मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है, 60 वर्षों में सब शरीक हैं, लेकिन हमारी आजादी की उम्र सरकती जाती है, लाचारी, बेबसी और गुरबत बढ़ती जाती है। आप कितना ही कहें, मैं आपसे विनती करूंगा कि आप इस बात को समझते नहीं हैं, ऐसी बात नहीं है, हां, कुछ लोगों के दिमाग बने हुए हैं कि हमारा रास्ता, यूरोप और अमरीका के रास्ते से बनेगा। हमारे यहां बहुत दिनों तक चला कि रूस के रास्ते से चलेंगे, वैसे हम दोनों तरफ के रास्ते पर चले हैं, लेकिन हम किसी ठिकाने तक नहीं पहुंचे हैं। हमने गांधी जी के रास्ते को मजबूती से पकड़ा नहीं और अब तो देश जहां पहुंच गया है, उसमें कुछ कहने और बयान करने लायक नहीं है। इसलिए मैं तीन-चार बातों पर जोर देना चाहता हूं। मेरे ख्याल से मेरा समय हो गया होगा।

श्री उपसभापति: आपका समय लगभग समाप्त हो गया है।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (मध्य प्रदेश): यह आपकी पार्टी का समय है, आपका समय कैसे हो गया? ईश्वर न करे कि आपका समय अभी आए।

श्री शरद यादव: सुषमा जी सोच रही हैं कि शायद मैं मौत के बारे में बोल रहा हूं, मैं तो यहां के वक्त के बारे में बोल रहा हूं।

मैं आपसे एक निवेदन करूंगा कि दो या तीन दिनों में जब वित्त मंत्री जी यहां बोलें, तो किस सूबे को कितनी राहत मिली है, यह बताएं। जो सिंचित इलाका है, उसकी और जहां बरसाती पानी से खेती होती है, उसकी जो disparity आपके कानून में है कि उसकी land ceiling अलग है, इसकी land ceiling अलग है। फिर आपके पास कौन सा मापदंड है, जिसके चलते आप यह पता लगाएंगे कि सिंचित इलाके की 5 एकड़ जमीन और बाकी गैर-सिंचित इलाके की जमीन का क्या हिसाब होगा, यह हिसाब आप सब लगाते हैं। गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे का हिसाब आपने कैसा लगाया? आप अमरीका और यूरोप से पढ़कर यहां आ जाते हैं और उनको देखते हैं, जिन्होंने सदियों में वह जगह पाई है। हमने भी अपनी जगह पाई है। हमारा, अपनी तरह का देश है, अपनी तरह की सभ्यता है, अपनी तरह के लोग हैं। वित्त मंत्री जी से मैं कहूंगा कि आपके लिए यह केवल 2 मिनट का काम है, यह बहस सार्थक हो जाती, यदि आप ऐसा करते। मैंने कोशिश की थी, लेकिन मेरे हाथ नहीं लगा, अखबारों में आया, कोई मुख्य मंत्री कुछ कह रहा है, कोई मुख्य मंत्री कुछ कह रहा है, कोई अखबार कुछ कह रहा है। एक तो आप बताइए कि हर सूबे को कितनी राहत मिली है। फिर, आपने कार के बारे में और बहुत सी चीजों में राहत दी है। आपकी जो industrial growth है, उसमें आपके पास यह बहुत बड़ा हथियार है — 4 पहिया गाड़ियों का। आपने 4 पहिया गाड़ियों के लिए राहत दी है। आप सोच रहे हैं कि आप कहां जा रहे हैं, देश को किस जगह ले जा रहे हैं? आप दिल्ली में चलिए, हम दिल्ली में 33 बरस से रह रहे हैं, लेकिन आजकल दिल्ली में कहीं शादी में जाना या किसी के कार्यक्रम में जाने का मतलब है एक तरह से तंगी-तबाही, आप चल ही नहीं सकते। यहां भारत सरकार के मंत्री लोग बैठे हैं, आप सर्वे करा लीजिए कि 80 फीसदी उन कारों में एक ड्राइवर बैठा है और एक उसका मालिक है। चाहे आप गुड़गांव की तरफ चले जाइए, चाहे आप दक्षिण दिल्ली की तरफ चले जाइए, आप किसी भी तरफ चले जाइए, यही हाल है। फिर यह जो डीजल है, जिसके चलते आफत मची हुई है, यह जो डीजल है, यह जो तेल है, आपके पास कितना है? आप तो बाहर से मंगा रहे हैं। अमरीका जिस तबाही में है, वह तबाही आप अपने यहां बुला रहे हैं। यानी इन गाड़ियों का आप कुछ तो करेंगे, इस सदन में इस पर कुछ तो बहस होगी कि एक गाड़ी में एक आदमी चले, दो आदमी चलें, क्या हो? दिल्ली में आप चले जाइए, 80 फीसदी गाड़ियां खाली चल रही हैं। अब यह गाड़ी चल रही है। आप टोटली में देश का ध्यान करेंगे कि यह जो गाड़ी पर अकेला आदमी डटा हुआ है, ये

3.00 PM

शादियां इतनी बढ़ रही हैं, अपने मकान को बड़ा बना रहे हैं, आप कहीं फिजूलखर्ची पर कोई न कोई सीमा लगाएंगे या नहीं लगाएंगे? आपको दिमाग लगाना चाहिए कि जो फिजूलखर्ची की सीमा है। ...(व्यवधान)... । क्या बोले ...(व्यवधान)... । Are you listening to me?

श्री उपसभापति: वे आपस में बात कर रहे हैं।

श्री शरद यादव: आप आपस में ज्यादा बात कर रहे हैं, हमारी बात सुन ही नहीं रहे हैं।

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): I am listening to you also.

श्री उपसभापति: आप अपनी बात कहिए।

श्री शरद यादव: आप बात कीजिए, मुझे एतराज नहीं है, लेकिन मेरी बीमारी है कि जब आप बात करेंगे ...(व्यवधान)... मैं आपको ही तो सुना रहा हूं। आप जब बात करते हैं तो मैं सोचता हूं कि आप मेरी तो सुन ही नहीं रहे हैं।

श्री पवन कुमार बंसल: आपकी बात पर ही बात कर रहे हैं।

श्री शरद यादव: महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि आपने जो गाड़ियों पर राहत दी है, थ्रेशर है, ट्रेक्टर है, जो किसान के यूज का है, आप विदेशों से खाद मंगा रहे हैं। आपके सामने एनर्जी का बहुत बड़ा संकट है। आप इस देश में उपलब्ध एनर्जी की तरफ वापस नहीं आ रहे हैं। यहां विंड एनर्जी है, सोलर एनर्जी है, और सब एनर्जी है, उसकी तरफ नहीं जा रहे हैं। खाद के मामले में जो कम्पोजिट खाद है, उसकी तरफ नहीं जा रहे हैं। धरती गर्म हो रही है, climate बदल रहा है, इस पर आपका कोई ध्यान नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री जी, आपने इसमें कुछ लगाया नहीं है। पानी का ज्यादा संकट है। वैसे ही इस देश में पानी कम है, नदियां सूख रही हैं। यहां जो यमुना नदी है, वह मरने वाली है। इस पानी के सवाल पर आपने जो पैसा दिया है, किस तरह की राहत आपने दी है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि यदि पानी खेत पर लगेगा तो वहां इलाका हरा होगा और जब इलाका हरा होगा तो उद्योग, व्यापार और धंधा भी हरा होगा। इस पर आपने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है। मैं आपसे तीन-चार बातें कहना चाहता हूं। एक तो climate का संकट है, वित्त मंत्री आप इस पर भी जरूर ध्यान दीजिए। गाड़ियों का संकट है, तेल का संकट है, इसका कैसे निदान निकालें, इसका कैसे रास्ता निकालें, क्योंकि आज महानगरों में चलना मुश्किल हो गया है। प्लेन में जाइए तो वहां दिक्कत है, रास्ते पर जाइए तो वहां दिक्कत है। यानी आज दिल्ली में यदि कोई आदमी बीमार हो जाए तो वह अस्पताल तक जाते-जाते ही मर जाएगा। आज सड़कों पर इतना जाम है। इन समस्याओं पर आपने क्या राहत दिया? ऐसे काम के लिए आप राहत देते। आपको राहत में कोई न काई बेरियर लगाना चाहिए था कि किस तरह से राहत हो।

उपसभापति महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि मैंने चार-पांच बातें कही हैं। विशेष तौर पर बरसात पर निर्भर जो खेत हैं, अगर आप उनकी सीलिंग पांच करेंगे तो यह राहत बाहर नहीं जाएगी। पूरे देश भर में कई संस्थाएं अलग-अलग किस्म से काम कर रही हैं। कहीं अच्छा काम कर रही हैं तो कहीं काम नहीं कर रही हैं। मेरी जानकारी है कि सबसे ज्यादा पैसा महाराष्ट्र में जाएगा। देश भर में किसानों को पूरी तरह से संतुलन के साथ पैसा मिले, इसका भी आपको इंतजाम देखना चाहिए। मैंने आपका थोड़ा अधिक समय लिया, इसके लिए मैं माफी चाहता हूं। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI ARJUN KUMAR SENGUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank everybody who has adjusted his time for me to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have fifteen minutes.

SHRI ARJUN KUMAR SENGUPTA: Yes, I think, I will finish before that because I do not want to speak too much. I must say that when I heard the hon. Finance Minister on the Budget, I was very enthused and I wanted to say three cheers to him. But, as time goes, I feel a bit hesitant. I can give two cheers without any problem. About the third cheer, I have some difficulty. I am glad that the hon. Finance Minister is here so that I can express the exact anxieties that I have for him to respond if he wishes to and want to take care of them. The

first cheer is that I find that hon. Finance Minister has responded to many of the urgings and demands by the Congress Party, its manifesto, the vision document of the Congress Party which considred reforms and economic growth only as a means where the ends were welfare and improvement in the lives of the *aam aadmi.*

I mention this because this is probably one Budget where the Finance Minister has gone out of his way to respond to this particular challenge. It is not that he did not do similar things in bits in other Budgets. But this time, I think, it started first in the President's speech, and, then, in his Budget statement, and, it was very clear that he was responding to the very basic demand that has come from many of us, both from his party and also from India.

The charges that these are populist measures are absolutely ridiculous because if you have provisions for the common people, that will be popular. Had he sacrificed the basic tenets of macro-economic stability, basic tenets of economic reforms and requirements of growth — which he has not — it would have been a populist Budget. In fact, I heard some of the Opposition speakers mentioning something of this kind that the reforms have been rejected. It is absolutely untrue. In spite of all these demands on him, the Finance Minister has been able to show that the fiscal deficits come down, revenue deficits come down, inflation is in the check, foreign exchange reserves are going up, foreign exchange rates are behaving very well, interest rates are proper. These are the basic elements of macro economic stability, which he has been able to maintain, and he must get full credit for that.

More than the achievement of economic growth, I think, his achievement is to be able to get the revenue receipts substantially increased. I am mentioning this point because people have not touched upon this. Economic growth has been very high. I remember once I mentioned that economic growth has been quite high in the previous regimes also. The Finance Minister pointed out that we had more years of very high rate of growth. He is absolutely right. My only point is that credit for rate of growth could be taken if we could clearly point out what is the instrument, what is the policy that has actually led to this high rate of economic growth. It is basically a market-led growth. It is basically because our rate of savings has increased very substantially and rate of investments has responded to that. Now, it is probably true that policies could have been very bad and this whole process could have been reversed and he has let that happen. The markets have shown that the economy responds positively to high rate of savings and high rate of investments. I would say this is an achievement, but not a terribly great achievement which other Ministers, other persons could not have done. In fact, I would say that if Mr. Yashwant Sinha were here, he would have been able to get exactly the same result. I can go into this issue later. But my point is please do not take too much credit for the economic growth, which is a function of the savings, investments, international climate and all those things where your role has been basically to see that the policies are not reversed.

But, undoubtedly, the Finance Minister's achievement in getting the buoyancy of taxes is phenomenal. We had a tax GDP ratio in the early 90s of eleven per cent; it came down steadily and went down to nine per cent, and, in 2003-04, when they came to power, it was about nine per cent. It has been raised to 12.5 per cent, which is a substantial increase and the buoyancy of taxes buoyancy in the rate of increase in tax revenue divided by the rate of growth of GDP — has been very impressive, and, this has been due to his efforts, his Ministry's efforts, and, they deserve full credit for that because other Ministers could not do it. Yashwant Sinha could not do it, Jaswant Singhji could not do it, and, if I may say so, even Mr. Chidambaram in the regime of United Front Government also could not do it. It is his

credit in this particular Government that he has achieved this high rate of buoyancy of tax revenue. So, this is my first cheer, which I can put forward without any hesitation.

The second cheer is, of course, as I said, for the choice of the projects for the common people. Sir, since the Finance Minister is here, I must say that this programme is very good for the common people. But they are double-edged. If you promise certain things to the people, the people now have become conscious of their rights. They know what they are expected to get. If you cannot deliver, they will not forgive you. I want to put it very clearly that in order to get these programmes implemented, you have to have designs; you have to have proper schemes; and you have to have proper incentive mechanisms.

As an economist, I am quite sure, Mr. Chidambaram is aware of that. It is a question of principal-agent problem. The agents are the State; the agents are the bureaucrats. How are you going to incentivise them to do these things? A mechanism has to be established, so that the States would do this kind of good things, and can deliver. They must be rewarded. You can do it in the form of *ex gratia* payment. You can do it in the form of giving some additional grants for doing this. But there has to be a proper incentive system.

Secondly, there has to be a road map and the monitoring which, I think, Mr. Finance Minister is aware of. But a mechanism has to be established to ensure such monitoring.

Let me point out the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. This is one of our best schemes. Unfortunately, the Scheme was delayed. If we had accepted this Scheme in the first year when it came, we, probably, would have learned quite a lot by now, and we would have got some results, because we have learned over the last year or two, quite a few things about this which we did not know earlier. But whatever may be the reasons, I do not want to talk about it. The House knows about it. It took quite some time for the Scheme to be adopted by this Government, although the Scheme was actually enunciated by the Congress President herself. But the principal lesson that we learned from the Scheme is that wherever there has been a proper accountability mechanism, it has worked. One of the best States where it has worked out is Andhra Pradesh. Congress Government is there. And it is because they have organised a social audit system which is far better than anywhere else. It is possible for some particular schemes to know where it is functioning and where it is not functioning and then take immediate action. This has also been the case in some areas in some States. For example, in little pockets of Rajasthan, it has worked very well. It has worked also even in Uttar Pradesh, where it has not worked in most places, but in some areas it has worked.

Sir, I am telling you this because we have seen Jean Dreze and others, going all over the country to gather information. Their information is quite clear. Where there is public accountability, where there is social audit, it works. This has to be incorporated in any of such kind of proposals.

Sir, I am not going to talk about the Employment Guarantee Scheme which I am quite sure will be taken care of. Now it is going to be extended to all over the country, and the allocation may have to be increased. The Finance Minister has promised that allocation would not be a problem.

I think the arbitrary limit of 100 days is also not necessary. If people can be given jobs, if work can be provided, there is no reason why it should be limited to 100 days. But this is a point which I think now will be taken care of.

But there are several other schemes. A very important scheme is for the social security. I have to mention this because in this Budget, the Finance Minister has given a number of

schemes which go towards social security and he says that he will bring in a Social Security Act. This is where he should be given full credit. Sir, this is a Bill which is different from the social security bill that some of us have been talking about. It has been mentioned in the Common Minimum Programme. There social security is supposed to be an entitlement. It is not a set of schemes. It is a minimum programme that everybody, every unorganised worker should be able to claim, because it is an entitlement. And that is precisely the kind of scheme that the Standing Committee tried to work out, a mechanism by which the people who are getting the benefits should be able to monitor and hold people accountable. That social security scheme, if it does not come, the way it has been worked out, the schemes that the Finance Minister has already announced, if they are brought together and taken as a minimum programme, only to be extended over a period of time, it will meet the requirement of an entitlement. I hope the Finance Minister will take this into consideration. There is no additional financial burden. It is just a question of assuring the working people that this is now not just a scheme that the Government gives, another Government can change it and the next Government can completely reverse. But, it becomes an entitlement just as the employment guarantee scheme has been.

Sir, the third thing is connected with the agricultural credit waiver. This also applies to many small and marginal units which are engaged in production. Sir, we have found that there are 58 million units in this country which employ five to eight people and have a capital of less than Rs. 5 lakh or hardly Rs. 10 lakhs as capital. But, these 58 million units do not have marketing and credit facilities. They do not get more than two per cent of the credit that comes from the system. In spite of all the RBI priority sector guidelines, the commercial banks do not give them credit, and very rightly so. If I were a commercial credit bank manager and I were told that I must follow the rules of profit, I must see that my NPAs go down, I must be able to maintain the risk portfolio properly and I would like to give the money to those whom I believe to be credit-worthy. The problem has to be solved by bringing a system by which the people who are not apparently credit-worthy can be made credit-worthy. Sir, this is a major issue that comes up front and for this, the Common Minimum Programme had a scheme called National Fund for Unorganised Sector. Because from this fund, which is created only for these people, money cannot be diverted to bigger people. It can only be given to these people. With proper rules and regulations, they can do it. This was there in our Common Minimum Programme. I am mentioning this because this is something for the Finance Minister to consider. It is high time that we should bring in the National Fund for Unorganised Sector. Whatever we may say that this is a priority sector or whatever we may say that the Reserve Bank of India has given directives that you should give loans without any kind of collateral, most banks do not actually follow. We have seen that most of the poor people are just bypassed. Sir, there is a good claim that the Finance Minister has made that agricultural credit has doubled. It's very true. Agricultural credit has doubled during his period. But, unfortunately, most of this credit has gone to agriculturists who are bigger landlords or Kulaks with more than five to ten acres. But, people with two-and-a-half hectare have got very little of that kind of a doubling of credit. In fact, I have the number also. It's only two per cent. *(Time-bell)*

Sir, I will just take two minutes on this point. Sir, I am mentioning this because when you say that you are waiving the loan of small farmers, it is a very good step, but then, the point is although you waive these loans, benefit does not come to the farmers directly because they are not paying. Most of them have already defaulted. It's banks' which are getting. It is perfectly all right that the banks should get it only because then, they would like to give more

credit. I am requesting the Finance Minister that please ensure that once this loan waiver is given, the farmers are given more credit. They have to get more credit. This is a very dangerous situation that has come up. I must mention this. I am afraid, I have great respect for Mr. Sharad Pawar, the Agriculture Minister. He has made statements that farmers should not repay to commercial money-lenders. It is a good sentiment. But, if you do that, you are playing with fire. If you do not have the money-lenders, if you do not have the money-lenders to help these people, if you do not have the alternative to do that, you will create a very difficult situation for the farmers. What does it mean? I am not saying that you should not control the money-lenders. Of course, you should control. But, the alternative is the cooperative system. That has to be built up. They have to be strengthened. Unless the cooperative system is strengthened, who will give them credit? I don't think the commercial banks can be pushed very far on that. Therefore, when you are doing this loan waiver, substantial amount should be kept for this kind of new lending. I am mentioning this because my back of the envelope calculations show that the actual loans to small and marginal farmers—there is a good demand that it should not be just two hectares everywhere; for Vidarbha and dry land it should be higher—even if you make this adjustment, it will be very difficult to think that it will be more than Rs. 24,000 crores or Rs. 25,000 crores. In fact, this is the figure derived from the 2002-03 survey. That is the last survey that we have. It precisely gives this number. Maybe, it can come to Rs. 30,000 crores or Rs. 35,000 crores. You are left with quite a substantial amount of money. If you have—the Finance Minister will be having all the mathematics—the rest should be provided for refinancing the cooperative credit system so that they can go and provide credit to the poor people.

My final point, where I have not been able to be fully, cheerful and giving the third cheer, is the state of the economy. I am sorry, Sir, I find that the situation is very risky today. I will not be surprised if we are going to face a severe recession in our country within a year or so. The reason why I am saying this is that we have got ourselves into a trap. We are not virtually driven by FII. Our growth is not based on increased manufactures growth. It is not based on increased agriculture growth. It is mostly based on services growth. Now, there is nothing wrong in that, but unless and until we build up the manufactures and agriculture, we will not have what we call the productive sector background for this kind of expansion. Now, how do you provide that? Most of the manufactures growth has taken place in the last two years. It has now started coming down. In fact, yesterday, there was a report that there was a fall in the industrial growth because this industrial growth was propelled by durable consumer goods, the capital goods. These are the sectors that have actually propelled it. The moment there is a problem of international recession, it will dry up. I want to put forward this argument, Mr. Chairman, through you, to the Finance Minister that if we can't reduce the interest rate—if we reduce the interest rate, it will have definitely an effect on the FII flows —then it will be very difficult to sustain the manufactures growth, to sustain a process of growth in your exports and to have a process of growth in the productive sector. In that case, it is even more problematic that if the FIIs come, we can't resist that, the rupee will go up, the imports will become cheap and as imports become cheap, it will have further effect on our manufactures demand and the manufactures gross output will again fall. We have reached a very difficult situation today. The world is in a very precarious situation and any time, if an outflow of FII starts, it will have an impact on the domestic investors' health. I hope it will not take place. But I must say that you must immediately adopt some kind of a caution so that you don't get into this kind of a problem. That is why my last, my third cheer is not happy. I wish the economic growth that we have would be based on solid growth of the productive sector for

which we must have demand. This is an old debate. The Finance Minister must be aware of this debate. When he talked about the growth of the economy, which is not backed by an increase in demand for agriculture goods or for the manufacturers, increase in the common mass demand for the goods, that kind of a growth without demand can't sustain. This has been a debate in our planning literature for a long time, and we are coming back to the same position. Agriculture is in shambles. It is not growing. Two-and-a-half per cent rate of growth is very low. It has come down from the previous growth rates. I can give you those numbers; that is not necessary. Industrial growth is dependent on a particular kind of...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI ARJUN KUMAR SENGUPTA: ...situation which can reverse itself. So, if, in that kind of a situation, we do not take corrective policies, I am affraid, this growth can also be, as Dr. Bimal Jalan was saying, a bubble. We should be very careful. I don't think it is a bubble yet, but it has the potential of becoming a bubble within a very short time.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR (Karnataka): Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on the Budget.

Sir, this Budget is a very important Budget. It is an end of term of budget, and it is also a transition Budget to the next Government.

Sir, I support the broad strategy used by this Government and the previous NDA Government to use growth as a primary way to ensure that the pressing problems of poverty and despair are addressed and eradicated in the shortest possible time. I strongly support this model of entrepreneur-led growth and efficiency in our economy. This is at the heart of the how and the why of why we have had growth for the last several years. And this growth is a reason as to why there is a windfall of Government revenues, allowing more spending power by the Government.

Sir, the growth in the last five years has been at the back of significant increased investments, higher infrastructure investment to GDP ratios, higher consumer spending and a robust consumption economy, a robust service sector, revived manufacturing and manufacturing exports' growth. In the words of our RBI Governor, 'this growth is showing signs of being self-accelerating'. This is on the plus side. Sir, on the minus side, we have had a very weak and increasingly vulnerable agricultural sector and inflation driven by surging prices in primary products and commodities, and the fact is that unlike in the past, we are also more exposed to global shocks and global movements in markets and economies.

Sir, much has been spoken and written about the Budget before this discussion, and during it. So, I will just focus on a few areas.

This Budget read along with the Eleventh Plan tells us one thing that the Government and all of us have realised that the growth benefits need to trickle down further, and this needs to be done much faster. In the words of Dr. Reddy, the Governor of RBI, the Eleventh Plan is creating an economic architecture that seeks to restructure policies to achieve a new vision of a faster, broad-based and inclusive growth. Sir, I believe, as do many of my colleagues, both inside this Hosue and outside, in this broad objective for us as a nation. Therefore, *prima facie,* I support the central theme, of this Budget, that of 'a Budget for the poor', even though I have several concerns about the nitty-gritties of the Budget. I support this Budget in many things that it is attempting to do — the never seen before investments in education capacity building, the trigger to the consumption economy through personal tax exemptions

and the significantly increased investments and spending in rural infrastructure, irrigation, skill development, wildlife protection and climate change, and most importantly, as far as I am concerned, the attempt, for the first time, to monitor spending outcomes through the Central Plan Schemes Monitoring System.

I also agree with the focus of inflation control, again, to quote Dr. Reddy, the Governor of RBI: "Fighting inflation is a bigger priority than growth because spiralling prices hammer the poor immediately whilst the benefits of economic expansion take time to trickle down to the poor." So, that brings me to the concerns that I have about this Budget.

Sir, the first concern that I have is about the sustainability of this inclusive growth model. To achieve this goal of inclusive growth, we need to accept and understand that we need a medium term plan and a plan that is aimed at ensuring a sustainable inclusive growth, and not fits and starts or electioneering. I say this because I see nothing in this Budget or in his speech, that points to any part of this being part of a longer term sustainable strategy. One response to this could be that the Budget is not supposed to do that, and the Eleventh Plan Document should do this. Sir, if that is the case, then I would strongly suggest that the House should discuss and debate the Eleventh Plan and see, if through the Eleventh Plan, we can set the basis for a sustainable inclusive growth agenda.

Sir, we all agree that the poor and impoverished don't remain poor and impoverished through generations because they want to or out of choice, or that they don't try hard enough to break out of their vicious cycle of despair and hopelessness. It is just that they do not have the institutional support that gives them a fair chance to use their skills, hard work and intelligence to change their lives. I strongly urge the Finance Minister and the Government to examine the possibility of creation of a long-term and sustainable framework, a kind of an infrastructure of opportunity that will address the core issue of empowering and giving opportunity to the millions who do not have it today.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair.]

Sir, the second issue, I believe, is the core of any changed approach to bring about inclusive growth. Inclusive growth outcomes cannot be met in a fast track approach unless we restructure the way Government spends its money. I never tire of reminding ourselves of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's quote of only 15 paise of every rupee reaching the intended people from Government programmes. The House is already aware and Shri Shourie did an eloquent job by describing the CAG report on the performance of NREGS programmes. Sir, if we are serious about addressing these problems of poverty and despair, we have to fix this problem of how Government spends this money. With the growing economy and the robust revenues as the wind behind the sail of the Government, the Budget is making very significant allocations for spending for the poor and disadvantaged. But the same old leaky and inefficient system is being used to deliver these vastly increased spends. That is a bad, bad strategy and will no doubt make many middlemen rich but will severely impair the urgency of our objectives. The Budget does talk about the setting up of a Central Plan Scheme's Monitoring Scheme, CPSMS along with a comprehensive decision support system. This is the best news I have heard in a long time about our efforts to reform and improve Government's spending efficiency. But I would strongly suggest and urge a deeper restructuring of our programmes aimed at improving this 15 paise per rupee to more reasonable and respectable, 95 paise per rupee. Sir, let us make this money and spending really work and deliver real results to our people. I would urge the Finance Minister to take cognisance of this.

Finally, let me come to the issue of the gathering storm cloud of a slowdown. It was clear much before the Budget that certain parts of our economy were already showing signs of a slow down. Recent reports have made those fears real. Manufacturing sector has shown a slowdown of 25 per cent year on year; the electricity sector has shown a much steeper slowdown. The weak dollar is also causing tremendous havoc in the manufacturing export sector including many SMEs. We are also aware that many lakhs of people are employed by this sector. We are also aware that we are no longer insulated from the global economy swings as we once were. As Shri Sengupta has just said, today our economy has a higher component of volatile portfolio flows on capital account and the RBI has admitted that there are severe policy challenges in managing the capital flows. I am sure the Finance Minister is aware of this. He has said that he will keep an eye on this and take necessary action to ensure that this sector does not go sick. I am only afraid of one thing and I would like to bring to his attention that given the Government's general track record of responsiveness, any response should not be late to prevent an irreversible slowdown and all its attendant problems.

Before ending, let me congratulate the Finance Minister on two things that have to do with the future, that is, the institutional climate change programme and the investment in wildlife protection. People who care about wildlife and environment are not wildlife fundamentalists, as was regrettably characterised by a senior colleague in this House in an otherwise brilliant speech. So, I applaud fully the Finance Minister's step in modernising and arming our ill-equipped forest reserve forces.

Sir, this year is a transition year and a critical year. It is important that we don't fall off the growth track and get derailed. I remember very well what happened the last time. Our Hon. Prime Minister presided over the pre-election budget in mid 90s. Increased public spending in the face of an economic slowdown caused us to spiral into a three-year recession and it took some time for us to get out of that. This Budget amongst all the previous ones of this Government is the most risky to pull off. The weakening global economic cues and the sign of an economic slowdown reinforce the view, as shared by other Members, that this could turn out to be a high risk budget with consequences on the current growth strategy and slope.

I know that the Finance Minister is a lucky Finance Minister. I think he will have to command all the luck and best wishes he has at his command for this year. I wish him all the best. Thank you.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this important Budget. This Budget has been presented to the House by the hon. Finance Minister, Shri Chidambaram, and I also see the different reactions to the Budget. I am not impressed by this Budget because it is easy to give such Budgets which generally people, who do not understand the exact politics behind the Budget, feel that it is a good Budget, and they feel happy about it. Sir, I have had opportunities to listen to such Budgets since a long time, be it in the Assembly or in Parliament, and my impression is that a Budget, which is, ultimately, not going to be implemented is no good Budget at all. In this Budget, particularly, I have seen that a number of announcements have been made, while, at the same time, I have seen that the experts in economics have criticised the Budget to a large extent. And, I am here only to examine whether the criticisms made by different experts are correct or not. The first and foremost point is that the general appreciation of the Budget has been about the provision of Rs. 60,000 crores towards waiving of loans for farmers. I would like to stress that the intention behind this particular provision was to see that the farmers of our country do not commit suicides. My question to the hon. Finance

Minister is whether he thinks that this particular goal is going to be achieved. Sir, it is true that such a huge amount has been provided for waiver of loans for the first time in the Budget. But I am sure that the Government has not applied its mind to the fact that even after this provision of Rs. 60,000 crores, suicides have not stopped. Even after the Budget has been presented in the House,--I am talking about a particular region in Maharashtra, Vidarbha, which is now known to everybody in the country--a lot of farmers have committed suicide. Is the Minister aware that in this period, after the announcement of the Budget, 34 farmers in Vidarbha have committed suicides? I do not understand why there is a race for getting credit for the provision of this amount. It is not desirable that even after such a huge provision, the farmers should commit suicides. They are committing suicides only because all the farmers are not going to get the benefit of this provision. It must be noted that in the Budget Speech of the hon. Finance Minister, he has mentioned that all agricultural loans disbursed by scheduled commercial banks, regional rural banks and co-operative credit institutions, up to March 31st, 2007, and overdue as on December 31st, 2007, will be covered under the scheme. Further, it also mentions that only those farmers will be benefited who have holding up to 2 hectares. The demand from the Opposition Party and from my party, from time to time, has been that the total loans should be waived. I do not know why this particular point was not considered by the Government and total relief was not given. Sir, if I am right and if my information is correct, two farmers committed suicides the day before yesterday again in Vidarbha. One of them was Sanjay Chauhan and his age was 35 and the other was Narsingh Chauhan who was 65 years of age. And the amount of loan which they could not pay was only Rs. 35,000. That means, Sir, even after the Government has made this provision, farmers are committing suicides, and that is because the provision has been made without any application of mind.

In the morning today, there was a Question asked in the House. The question was very interesting. The Question, addressed to the Minister of Agriculture, was how his Ministry coordinates with the Departments of Agriculture in the States and also, whether any conflict existed between the Department of Agriculture and the Finance Ministry. I got the reply from the Agriculture Minister but since we are discussing the Budget I would like to know from the Minister of Finance what the conflict is between these two Ministries. Sir, I was trying to mention in the morning today but I could not go into the details because it was Question Hour. But I would like to know from the hon. Minister what is the procedure in the present Government, because, I remember, during the NDA Government, there was a procedure that when any proposal was brought up in the Budget, either it was discussed orally or it was discussed in writing with all concerned. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister whether that procedure exists even today or whether it has been changed. Sir, I am putting this question because after the Budget Speech was made, Mr. Sharad Pawar, the hon. Minister for Agriculture, had gone to the State of Maharashtra and had made an announcement in one of the public meetings at Beed that there was again a possibility of an increase in the ceiling on land holding. Will the hon. Finance Minister be able to tell this House whether the point raised by the Minister of Agriculture today was raised before this Budget Speech was made? Was he aware whether this limit of two hectares would be there? Had he opposed that? And, that is why this question was asked in the House today whether there was any conflict between both these departments. Let the Finance Minister clarify this in his reply.

Secondly, I know that Mr. Rahul Gandhi, Member of Parliament, has now asked the Government to increase this limit of holding. So, I want to know from the hon. Minister

whether he is going to accept the request of Mr. Rahul Gandhi and increase this limit or not. I am sure the hon. Minister will be bold enough to make a categorical statement on this issue. Since, I have read Mr. Rahul Gandhi's statement, I am anxious to know what he is going to do. The second important point is, if this limit is not increased, the farmers are going to continue committing suicides in the entire country, especially in the State of Maharashtra. My anxiety is: what is the way out to stop totally the suicides being committed by farmers because unless and until the Government goes into the details, provide all the relief to the farmers, I am afraid, the suicides will not stop? This is an important point that I have raised.

Another thing which is also equally important is the shotage of power all over the country, and mainly in my State, *i.e.*, Maharashtra. I remember, Sir, the hon. Prime Minister had made a speech last year and said that he would like to increase the production of power to one lakh megawatts in the next five years. May I know what is the progress done in this regard? The figures that you have given in the Budget are about 10,000 megawatts, this year. You have also said that for the first time *10,000* megawatts electricity will be produced. I am particularly interested to know what the Government wants to do in this regard. Is the Government aware that a small facility of providing electricity for starting a pump in the farm is also not available in the State of Maharashtra? Is the Government aware that the students are not able to complete their studies because there is no electricity? Sir, You will be surprised to know that in most of the houses in rural areas of Maharashtra, there is no electricity for 10 to 15 hours during a day. What type of Government you people are running? You are not able to provide electricity to the people now, and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra has openly admitted that in the next five years also it is not possible to provide electricity to each and every house. I am talking about a progressive State like Maharashtra. So, the conditions which are existing in other parts of the country can be easily understood.

Sir, the rate of electricity has increased. It was 34 per cent, and now it has gone to 40 per cent. Even after that, electricity is not available, therefore, a number of industries are closing down in the State. Is it not the responsibility of the Government to make available electricity to the people? Sir, unfortunately, in this Budget, I do not find a concrete provision to increase electricity supply to the people. Sir, in Maharashtra, particularly, in April and May, we require 16,400 MW electricity whereas today the availability is only 10,300 MW. So, the problem of electricity is not resolved. Also, Sir, the problem of rising prices is the most important issue which the Government will have to face. The prices have gone tremendously high. The poor people cannot afford to meet their day-to-day needs. Therefore, the people are upset with this. आम आदमी इसके कारण बहुत नाराज है। I would warn the Government that if they do not consider this particular aspect of rising prices, then, there is every possibility that the people of this country will bring down this Government. *(Time bell)* Sir, I am not mentioning a number of other points because I know that I have a very little time to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): There are nearly 20 speakers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI: Sir, I can understand it. You know that I belong to a group of Members from the State of Maharashtra. In discussing the small issues of Maharasthra, a lot of time of the House is taken. ...*(Interrutions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Finish in three-four minutes.

SHRI MANOHAR JOSHI: Sir, the price of rice was Rs. 10 per kilogram, and it has gone to Rs. 30 per kilogram; the price of wheat was Rs. 8 per kilogram, and it has gone to Rs. 40.

Can you imagine how big a rise it is? It is more than double and the Government is not prepared to look into this problem. Milk was being sold at Rs. 14 per litre, and now it is being sold at Rs. 24 per litre. I have mentioned only three items. I am bringing it to the notice of the Government that they will have to be careful on this particular issue. There are ways and means to control the prices, particularly essential commodities. Sir, I did it as a Chief Minister, I still remember, I had put up a board outside my chamber saying that such and such will be the rates for the next five years. During my tenure, believe me, rates of not even a single essential commodity, out of those five, were increased. It is not impossible to do this, but the Government does not seem to be willing to look to the poor people of the country.

The Government has talked about housing for the poor. Are they aware of what is the increase of the number as regards poor people in the country, particularly those who stay in slums? There is a big slum which belonged to my previous constituency and that is known as Dharavi, It was the biggest in Asia. Lakhs of people are staying in that slum. Today, the Government has decided to develop this slum with the help of bidders from foreign companies. They have issued tenders also. I have no objection to doing that. Sir, probably, some people may not understand what FSI means, but the Government has given double the FSI for doing this and the poor people have not been given accommodation as per their expectation. Therefore, there is going to be agitation. Dharavi will be, unfortunately, another Nandigram. There is bound to be a big agitation on this issue because shelter is not being given to the people.

Lastly, I would only talk about a part of the Budget, which I request the hon. Minister, Shri Bansalji is here, to remvoe totally from the Budget. Sir the provisions which are made in the name of minorities to Muslims are really shocking to us. What are the provisions? A provision has been made for modernisation of Madrasas. Sachar Committee report is going to be implemented. Therefore, whatever Sachar Committee had said is going to be done and the amounts are going to be provided. The amounts are not in lakhs but in crores. My party is totally against making such provisions to any religion. We want that all poor people should be helped. There should be given facilities but not to people just because they belong to a particular community. Sir, this is nothing but a division of the country. They are erecting walls between Hindus and Muslims and I would like to go on record today saying that this is going to create as series of problems. I know why the Government is doing it. It is doing just for getting more number of votes from minorities but they do not undersatnd that because of this, how much hurt the Hindus have got. this shows that there is a communal bias in the minds of the Government of India. Therefore, I would like to warn the Government and ask it to remove those pages from the Budget Speech of the Finance Minister which are trying to give special concessions to Muslims just because they are Muslims. My party has decided to see to it that the Sachar Committee report is never implemented and no special should be given to Muslims just because they are Muslims.

I am sure the Government understands that, ultimately, there should be no discrimination and if the Government starts discriminating, then it will have a very bad side effect. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI (Tamil Nadu): Sir, thank you. I rise to support the Budget of 2008-09. India's reforms process and growth owe a great deal to the Prime Minister and tis Fiance Minister. Many economists consider Finance Minister's 1997 Dream Budget responsible for the 9+per cent growth trajectory the country is on now. Three years of substantial high growth of around 9 per cent, the high industrial growth rates and increasing corporate profits and the recovery of agriculture in the current year provide an unenviable backdrop for the Budget. Revenues from both direct and indirect taxes have shown a very healthy growth providing a great deal of room for increased spending. The 2008 Budget proposals have been welcome for many reasons. It is a Budget named by the Opposition as

an election year Budget which is nothing but a synonym for people-friendly Budget, which pays attention to the needs of all sections of society and specifically, the common man and woman. The primary reason is the writing off of agricultural loans. This has been a very bold move on the part of the UPA and immediately lifts a great burden from the shoulders of Indian farmers. There are aspersions being cast about the practical possibility of the waiver. Sir, I come from a State which has already made this possible. The DMK completely supports and stands by the waiver with full faith that it would be done here also. Questions have been raised about not taking a more holistic solution to the agricultural sector problems and there have been accusations that the loan waiver is not the solution. I accept that more holistic approach is also necessary but will the holistic approach which would take time to be accomplished serve the immediate needs of the farmer who is on the brink of life with nothing to choose but the way to end his life? Would the promise of a distant horizon save him from humility, disgrace, shame and suicide? Sir, in a recent article, our respected Member, Shri M.S. Swaminathan to whose report nearly every speaker who speaks here on the Budget refers to, has himself welcomed the move and has said that the loan waiver is the price we have to pay for the neglect of rural India during the past several decades. At the same time, I am confident the Minister would also look at what ails the sector and implement the Commission's recommendations. The prevailing gap between the potential and the present yield has to be addressed. Marketing support and protective insulation from fluctuating market price should be provided to the farmers.

Sir, the next compliment the Finance Minister and the UPA Government have got from the Opposition is that it is a communal Budget. This is a proud moment for anyone who really cares about setting right the inequalities in society created in the name of caste, creed or religion. The promise made by the Finance Minister to implement the Sachar Committee Recommendations is appreciated by the DMK, a party which has always been concerned about protecting the minority welfare. The 2008 Budget has doubled the allocation to the Minority Welfare Ministry. The Sachar Report has specifically expressed concern over the abysmal state of education among the minorities specifically, the girls from the minority communities. I request that more funds would be allocated for educational institutions in areas where the concentration of minority communities is high and to provide more incentives by way of scholarships and hostel facilities and specially institutions for girls to encourage education among the girl students. Announcements made that the total allocation for the education sector has been increased by 20 per cent is welcome. Sir, the Minister has promised to start a model school programme, with the aim of establishing 6000 high quality model schools in 2008-09 and has provided Rs. 650 crores for the new scheme. While the new scheme of Universal Secondary Education called "Success" is also welcomed, Government of India should provide flexibility to State Governments in establishing model schools under the State Board curriculum also. Stress must be given to setting up of computer laboratories and a library in every school. I would like to specifically thank the Finance Minister for extending the Mid-day Meal Scheme to upper primary classes in educationally backward blocks, and also in Government-aided schools in all blocks in the country. This is said to benefit an additional 2.5 crore children. There has been concern expressed that children in far off tribal areas do not get benefit from these schemes, be it education or nutrition. I request the Ministry to modify the schemes to reach and accommodate these children also.

I would like to thank the hon. Finance Minister for allocating Rs. 300 crores to support desalination plant to be installed near Chennai. I would also like to mention here, Sir, that the hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has written to him asking for a support of Rs. 1,000 crores. I am sure that the hon. Finance Minister is fully aware and understands the drinking water situation in Chennai and the importance and urgent need to the project. We can be sure of the approval and further cannot be far away.

4.00 PM

Further, the Budget has also provided Rs. 3,966 crores for schemes benefiting SCs and STs exclusively. The students from these communities need financial aid for their education as most of them come from economically backward homes. It would be really good, when students from these communities get into professional colleges under the Government quota, if the Government pay their entire fee. It would be really welcome. And, the people from these communities generally do not get into business and entrepreneurship is very low. It would be a very good idea for the Ministry to set up some organisation to help and encourage them to get into some business.

Coming back to the farm loan waiver package announced by the hon. Finance Minister, I would like to emphasize that it should give due recognition by way of financial support to a similar package implemented by the Government of Tamil Nadu as soon as it assumed office in May, 2006, as promised in its election manifesto. Sir, here, I deviate myself from the Central Budget, because my friends from the AIADMK have some confusion as to what the DMK Government has implemented in Tamil Nadu. So, I would just like to give a clarification,because they have raised it here. The DMK promised in its Election Manifesto to give colour televisions. So far, we have distributed about 28,96,000 colour televisions and around 30,59,000 are under distribution. Around 1,60,671 acres of land has been distributed for agriculture purposes to the poorer sections of the State.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Sir, can I seek a clarification?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. interruptions.

Your time is limited. So, you proceed with your speech.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: I am just trying to clear your confusion. Employment has been given to 2,81,000 unemployed youngsters and free land pattas have been given to 4,51,910 families. These are the election promises which the DMK Government has fulfilled. The hon. Minister has promised to extend the Mid-day Meal Scheme to Government aided schools in the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You please conclude.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: This will benefit an additional 2.5 crore children. I welcome this.

Sir, coming back to farm loans, I would like to say that we have already waived around Rs. 7 crores of farm loans in Tamil Nadu which has benefited about 22.4 lakh farmers. The Central Government has to think of reimbursing the amount of loan waived already by the State Government and that is to the tune of Rs. 3,760 crores. The Government of India should also reimburse 25 per cent to the amount waived in respect of other farmers by the Government of Tamil Nadu since the Union Budget also provides a 25 per cent rebate in respect of farm loans taken by other farmers. In many States, specifically, Tamil Nadu, most of the agricultural loans given by nationalised banks are against jewellery. Therefore, the Union's farm loan waiver package should cover farm loans taken by pledging jewellery with banks.

Sir, another area which is of concern is the price of edible oils which is affecting the low income families. Therefore, the Government of India should step in and reduce the import duty of refined edible oil which may ease the market price of edible oil in the domestic market. The prevailing import duty of 41.2 per cent to 54 per cent on imported edible oils constitutes a significant portion of the cost. The Government of India can import refined palm oil through agencies like State Trading Corporation and permit State Government agencies also to directly import. Subsidy should be given to State agencies so as to make the

edible oils available on reasonable prices through the PDS. In addition, the Union Government should exempt the import of palm oil by State Government agencies, like, the State Civil Supplies Corporation from the levy of customs duty. While Union Government should be commended for the impressive progress made under *Bharat Nirman*, a suggestion may be made that there is a need for flexibility in implementation of this scheme so as to accommodate State specific context. For example, Prime Minister's *Gram Sadak Yojana* provides rural road connectivity for habitations with population of 500 and above. However, in the case of States, like, Tamil Nadu, most of the habitations with 500 populations have already been provided with road connectivity. Therefore, if there is flexibility in the scheme, States, like us, would benefit by road connectivity to habitations with a population less than 500, say, between 250 and 500. Similarly, the Rajiv Gandhi Rural Electrification Scheme should be made flexible so that the States, where all villages have been electrified, can use funds to achieve 100 per cent household electrification. (*Time-bell*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Don't forget that you have to go at 4.00 p.m. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: One minute, Sir. I am asking demands for my State. (*Interruptions*) The Government of India's major scheme for irrigation is the Accelerated Irrigation Benefit Programme. The Centre has announced 14 major river projects as national projects and has agreed to provide funding for the same. However, no project of interest to Tamil Nadu finds place in the list of these 14 projects. The most important project under this category is diversion of flood surplus from Cauvery near Trichy to dry districts of Tamil Nadu, which will take water to a number of dry areas. Similarly, the surplus waters to Tamirbarani can be taken to Karumeniyaar and Nambiyaar so as to provide irrigation and drinking water to the dry areas of Tuticorin and Tirunelveli districts.

Tamil Nadu is one of the States that does not have a Central University. (*Interruptions*). If they don't want to me to talk about Tamil Nadu. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no, don't waste you time. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: It has been announced in the Governor Address in Tamil Nadu that Government should establish a Central University in Tiruvarur district. Therefore, the announcement in the Union Budget for the establishment of one Central University to each of the uncovered States would be welcome. Tamil Nadu has also made a request for an IIM at Coimbatore, an IIT at Madurai and an Indian Institute of Science Education and Research at Trichy. None of them has found mention in the Union Budget speech.

Sir, the Budget is a gender sensitive Budget that has provided over Rs. 11,000 crores for 100 per cent women-specific schemes. Women are the more marginalized among the marginalized and the less privileged among the privileged. So, it is fair to have a system which is more specific to their needs.

Every scheme, be it education, skill development, minority schemes, scholarships or health, should take into consideration the needs of women and provisions must be made for them specifically within the budgeting. There has been a 15 per cent increase in the allocation for health sector. I would also like to bring to the notice that diseases, which affect women more like pelvic cancer, and many more, have to be allocated funds specifically for awareness, research and cure. (*Time-bell*)

Sir, one more minute. (*Interruptions*) I would also like to mention here that in Tamil Nadu a scheme for the welfare of pregnant mothers called Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy maternity benefit scheme has been implemented. Under this scheme pregnant women are given Rs. 6000

for their nutrition and health care. This has brought down maternal and infant mortality in the State. Our Chief Minister has suggested that this scheme should be adopted nationwide as India has an alarming maternal and infant mortality rate. It is a welcome change to see that gender budgeting is not just a welfare allocation for women. One of the recommendations is that special industry zones should be created an a priority basis to enable women entrepreneurs to take advantage of the economic growth. Business training colleges and centres for women should be set up with a focus on SHGs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay, now, wind up.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Sir, one more minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): No; no. It can't be 'one more minute' every time.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Sir, the Domestic Violence Act should also be implemented. (*Interruptions*) There is only one speaker from our party. So, please allow me. There are more than 2 crore domestic workers in this country who live at the mercy of employers. And, 98 per cent of them are women. A large number of them are under the age of 14. It is the women who suffer the most for want of toilet facilities. While the announcement of providing Rs. 12,000 crores for total sanitation campaign is praiseworthy, the present cost norms are very inadequate. It is very difficult to give good quality toilet facilities. So, realistic cost norms will lead to better implementation of the Scheme. I thank the Minister for providing Rs. 75 crores to the Indian Council of Cultural Relations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is enough. All points have been covered.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: I would like to thank the Finance Minister and the UPA Government for giving a really progressive budget, which is also an inclusive one in all possible ways. .....(*Interruptions*)....

श्री राम नारायण साहू (उत्तर प्रदेश): सर, हमें तो टाइम नहीं दिया जा रहा है। ...(व्यवधान)... हमें तो आप टाइम नहीं दे रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Okay, Sir. Thank you. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Some consideration should be given for women. ...(*Interruptions*)... We should always give some consideration for women. ...(*Interruptions*)... They are our sisters. So, naturally we have to be a little bit lenient. ...(*Interruptions*)... Even Mr. Maitreyan considered that point. ...(*Interruptions*)... Is it no?...(*Interruptions*)... No; no, it was not her maiden speech. ...(*Interruptions*)... Shri D. Raja.

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Sir. I would like to focus on a few key sectors. The UPA Government claims that it is the Government of *aam admi*. The UPA Government repeats the slogan, '*Jai jawan, jai kisan*',. But if you see the Budget, it falls flat before the tall claims made by the UPA Government. The Finance Minister in his Budget Speech has said that the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the socially and educationally Backward Classes, and the Minorities will continue to receive special attention. I think, this is a very false and misleading statement. The Government continues to ignore the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes.

Now, I will substantiate what I am saying. Since my great friend, Mr. Bansal is sitting here, I will substantiate what I am saying. We know that the Scheduled Castes Constitute 16.2 per cent.

of the nation's population. As per the Census figures, the Schedule Tribes constitute 8.2 per cent and the Minorities constitute 18.4 of the population. I will take the percentage of Backward Classes as 52 per cent which is the accepted position of the Government of India, and is based on the Mandal Commission Report.

Now, we can have a look at the Ministries which are directly charged with socio-economic empowerment of these categories. Since Mr. Bansal is sitting and taking down notes, I am quoting some figures. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowernment, in the notes for Demands for Grants, page 209, Volume II, indicates that the budget for the welfare of SCs is Rs. 1688.37 crores and for the welfare of Backward Classes, it is Rs. 185.05 crores. They have shown a total of Rs. 1873.42 crores for the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes categories. I would like to remind you that this money is for the population of 16.2 per cent of SCs and 52 per cent of BCs.

I will now quote from page 230, Volume II of the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, wherein it is mandated with taking care of the Tribals of the country and has a budget of Rs. 2121 crores. This is for a population of 8.2 per cent. If you go by these figures, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes get only 3.05 per cent of the total allocation of the Budget. The minorities get only .13 per cent of the total allocation of the Budget. Let us also have a look at the Budget of the Ministry of Minorities Affairs. It is only Rs. 1013.83 crores. Even this figure has come after the Government has almost doubled the allocation. But I remind you that the money is for 18.4 per cent population of our country who are minorities. That means, for SCs, it is only Rs. 1881 crores; for BCs, it is just Rs. 185 crores; for STs, it is Rs. 2121 crores; and for minorities, it is only Rs. 1013 crores. That is why, I am questioning the intention of the Government. This also includes the capital account where funds are given to finance and development corporations. Just have a look at the amounts. For minorities, it is Rs. 75 crores; for SCs, BCs and *safai karamcharis*, all the three included, it is a mere Rs. 106.50 crores; and, for STs, it is only Rs. 50 crores. With all these kinds of allocations, how does the Government expect the weaker sections to be self-sufficient by creating their own enterprises? These amounts are like a drop in the ocean. This is merely a lip service that the UPA Government is doing for SCs/STs, OBCs and minorities. The banking system has collapsed. As far as the weaker sections are concerned, the bankers run away from the SCs, STs, BCs and minority loan seekers. The Members who are sitting here know very well the ground situation where the bankers very grudgingly give a loan of not more than Rs. 20,000 crores, meant for giving loans to these communities. This Rs. 20,000 crores of loan amount is for anybody for creating self-employment and for sustainable income. The Government has also closed its eyes to the plight of manual scavengers in the country who still clean latrines and carry night soil on their heads. And most of the manual scavengers are women. I can show you their pictures of cleaning of human faecal matter. Even today, it is going on in the country. Isn't it a shame? Does the Finance Minister know all these things? That is why, I am questioning the Government's claims and what the Budget speaks about these sections. I really feel that the Government is either careless or it is dreaming that by granting peanuts to these communities, they will rise above the poverty line.

The other issue I would like to draw your attention to, Sir, is the failure of the Government on the Skill Development Initiative issue. In the Budget for the year 2006-07, the Government placed a very meagre amount of Rs. 10 crores for the Skill Development Initiative (SDI), and that too with the Public Private Partnership (PPP) model. During his Budget Speech, the hon. Minister, Shri P. Chidambaram, read out, "The hon. Members will recall that the

Government has taken up a programme to upgrade 500 ITIs over five years. About 100 ITIs are now covered with the help of private sector. Assistance has been sought from multilateral agencies to cover the remaining 400 ITIs. I propose to allocate Rs. 97 crores for this purpose in 2006-07. The Skills Development Initiative (SDI) announced last year has been taken up through a PPP scheme and I propose to make an initial provision of Rs. 10 crores." Why? When it comes to the skill development of the poor people, the Government needed private sector, which is never bothered about the poor people in the country. How can the Government abdicate its responsibility to the profit-seekers? This is what the UPA Government should realise. The mindset of the UPA Government, the planning and the budgetary outcomes clearly show that the Government wants to perpetuate the poor and the weaker sections as mere labourers. They want the labourers to remain as labourers and the rich to grow richer.

Now, Sir, I come to NREGA. People are talking more about the NREGA. But, Sir, there is a problem with NREGA. When the scheme was extended to 330 districts, the money given was only Rs. 12,000 crores. Now, when the scheme is extended to all the rural districts, the money given is Rs. 16,000 crores, just an increase of Rs. 4000 crores. In regard to NREGA, there is problem. Regarding NREGA, the problem is this. Sir, I would like to quote here the announcement made by the Government. I quote, "The remaining districts of the country have also been notified to be covered with effect from 01.04.2008 under its Phase III, thereby universalising the NREGA within the stipulated time-frame. Thus, the entire SGRY will stand subsumed in NREGA in the year 2008-09. " It is from page 187, Volume II of the Budget. Now, we all know that the Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) has helped the rural poor into Self-Help Groups (SHGs), and, by just amalgamating or subsuming the scheme of SGSY, it will kill the independent spirit of women who are successfully running the Self-Help Groups in our country. The efforts of wage employment like in NREGA should not be mixed or confused with the efforts of self-employment that are envisaged in schemes like SGSY. Now, I ask the hon. Minister or the Government this question. How do you explain the success of NREGA when all Central Schemes are clubbed together? Sir, in the name of NREGA, the panchayats are starved of funds and this is what we should understand. Even on rural development, there are many issues. On the issue of housing, Mr. Chidambaram has announced an enhancement of the grant. I appreciate it. I welcome it. I appreciate the enhancement of the grant for housing for rural poor under *Indira Awas Yojana* from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 35,000 in plain areas and from Rs. 27,500 to Rs. 38,500 in hill and difficult areas. But again there seems to be an attempt to drag even the BPL families into a debt trap. The additional provision is that-and I quote, "Public sector banks will be advised to include IAY houses under the differential rate of interest (DRI) scheme and lend up to Rs. 20,000 per unit at an interest rate of 4 per cent." Is it all right for the poor people in our country? The Finance Minister might have forgotten that as the banks have already shield away from loaning the poor people, they have also virtually stopped giving the DRI loans to them. Poorer the persons, more the banks run away from them. Now, you are talking about finance sector reforms, bank sector reforms. I would like to ask from the Government what is its banking policy towards poor people. Even we are talking of the deposit collectors. ...*(Time-bell)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude now.

SHRI D. RAJA: Sir, I am concluding. I was talking about the deposit collectors. Their interests must be taken care of.

Now, I move to the Defence. In every Budget, you are increasing the allocation on Defence. Sir, we have no quarrel on that. But we have to raise a point in that regard. The CBI is

enquiring into 35 defence deals. The Dennel Company of South Africa has been blacklisted. Everybody knows it.

Now, what about the Raffell company of Israel? What about the Barrak Missile controversy? What is the response of the Government? Why are you planning to deepen military ties with Israel, which is attacking the Palestinian people and subjecting them to untold misery and torture? We had earlier depended on America and Israel for our arms supply and they have proved to be unworthy suppliers. They are unworthy as far as India is concerned. I propose that there should be an attempt by the Government to think of constituting an eminent persons' group to vet the Defence deals. Otherwise it would be a problem for India.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: I shall conclude now, Sir.

Now, coming to agriculture, everybody has appreciated the loan waiver. We do welcome that loan waiver, but in our opinion, the UPA Government should have constituted a National Debt Relief Commission, and the interest rate for small and marginal farmers should have been brought down to a four per cent simple interest. The UPA Government has not done this in this Budget. Even when you define small and marginal farmers, there is a hitch. Two hectares means five acres of land. But what about certain crops, cardamom for instance? In Tamil Nadu, Kerala and several other States, there are people who cultivate cardamom. They are demanding that the provision of two hectares should be changed and it should be five hectares for cardamom growers. And coffee growers in Karnataka and other places feel that small and marginal coffee growers must include those who own 25 acres, that is, ten hectares of land. Is the Government considering doing any such thing?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, please conclude, Mr. Raja.

SHRI D. RAJA: I am concluding, Sir.

When you say that Rs. 60,000 crores worth of farmers' loans will be written off, what about these farmers? Unless they are also included in this scheme, the loan waiver scheme will not be successful. It has been done with a short-term vision. I feel that the Government does not have a long-term strategy on how to overcome this agricultural crisis. Also, Government is silent on the Minimum Support Price to be given to paddy and oilseed growers. Unless you make agriculture remunerative, you cannot achieve the 4 per cent target that has been envisaged in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. Here, I must point out the FCI, which has to procure foodgrains directly from the farmers, has not been doing it. In fact, FCI does not have godowns at many places. Thanjavur is the rice bowl of Tamil Nadu and it is managing seven districts, but it does not have a godown of its own. Government may consider this and the Agriculture Minister may look into all these problems. Finally, Sir..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) Please, that is enough. Every point of yours is final!

SHRI D. RAJA: Sir, I shall conclude with just one more point. As far as atomic energy is concerned, I propose that the Budget on Department of Atomic Energy may be restored at the Revised Estimate level for 2008-09. This is very important for other Science departments also. Now, we are going in for Uranium exploration. As I remember, Shri Anil Kakodkar is on record saying that India will go in for Uranium exploration 300 metres below surface level. If that is so, we will have to evolve a political consensus. You are talking about political consensus to clinch the Indo-US Nuclear deal, but you are not talking about a political

consensus for the exploration of uranium, which would provide self-sufficiency to our own scientific community and our own technology.

Sir, Mr. Chidambaram, while introducing the Budget, in fact quoted...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: Sir, I shall quote just one line of Mr. Chidambaram and conclude. He said, "If 1984 and 1991 were turning points in the history of Indian economy, 2004 was another turning point." That means, these are the years in which the Congress Party, the UPA, tried to aggressively pursue the neo-liberal economic policies. And Mr. Chidambaram has made it clear that there is no change of direction of these economic reforms. We have a problem and that is why we are asking the UPA Government that it is time to go for course correction . ..(*Interruptions*).. You go for course correction. ..(*Interruptions*).. Otherwise, you face the people. ..(*Interruptions*)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please, no cross talks. ..(*Interruptions*).. Please conclude. ..(*Interruptions*).. Please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: I am concluding. It is time for UPA Government to go for course correction. Mr. Chidambaram ended his Budget Speech quoting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a great politician and statesman.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please, conclude. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI D. RAJA: He called the public sector undertakings as temples of modern India. And, now, what the UPA Government is doing? Are you protecting the public sectors? In fact, you are weakening the public sectors, and that is why we are demanding that UPA Government should change its course. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is enough. Don't repeat your points.

SHRI D. RAJA: And it should go for course correction of its policies. If at all the UPA Government claims to be the Government for *Aam Admi* and if it stands for the country's interest, go for course correction of your economic policies and this Budget must go for some more corrections during the debate. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Shri Praveen Rashtrapal. Not present. Shri G. Sanjeeva Reddy.

श्री जी॰ संजीव रेड्डी (आन्ध्र प्रदेश): वाइस चेयरमैन सर, धन्यवाद। सबसे पहले मैं इस बजट का, जो हमारे फाइनांस मिनिस्टर साहब ने पेश किया है, समर्थन करता हूं। हिस्ट्री में सबसे पहला इतना बड़ा कदम उन्होंने उठाया है कि किसानों का 60,000 करोड़ रुपये का कर्जा माफ करने का निर्णय लिया है, इसके लिए मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूं, उन्हें धन्यवाद करता हूं।

इस तरह से बहुत सालों से वर्किंग क्लास की यह डिमांड थी कि इन्कम टैक्स के स्लैब को बढ़ाना चाहिए। कई सालों से हम लोग भी इसके लिए रिप्रेज़ेंट कर रहे थे। फाइनांस मिनिस्टर ने इसे 1,50,000 रुपये कर दिया है, सीनियर सिटिज़न्स और लेडीज़ के लिए भी उन्होंने इन्कम टैक्स की लिमिट बढ़ाई है, इसके लिए भी मैं उनका धन्यवाद करता हूं।

सर, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने 17 लाख वीवर्स के लिए जो इंश्योरैंस स्कीम चलाई है, उसके लिए भी मैं उनको धन्यवाद करता हूं। साथ ही मैं उनसे यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि इस स्कीम को केवल कागज़ पर लिख देने से ही फायदा नहीं होगा, जो हैंडलूम वीवर्स हैं उनके लिए रॉ मैटीरियल उपलब्ध कराने और उनके तैयार माल को बेचने एवं खरीदने की भी कोई व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। जब तक हम ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तब तक उनकी गरीबी दूर नहीं हो सकती

है। रॉ मैटीरियल की वजह से आज कई बिज़नेसमैन उन गरीब हैंडलूम वीवर्स को लूटते रहते हैं, इसलिए वे भूखे मरते हैं। इतना काम करने के बावजूद भी बराबर उनको उसका मुआवज़ा नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए हमारी सरकार से मैं यह प्रार्थना करता हूं कि उनके बारे में अवश्य सोचा जाए।

सर, स्किल डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम के बारे में जो उन्होंने कहा कि "Skill Development Programme launched in the non-profit corporation being set up by Rs. 15,000 crore capital." लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि खाली कॉर्पोरेशन बैठा देने से हमारा स्किल अपग्रेडेशन नहीं होगा। इससे तो केवल एक इंस्टीट्यूशन और आ जाएगा। स्किल डेवलपमेंट के लिए हमारी ऐपरोच प्रैक्टिकल होनी चाहिए। आज हिन्दुस्तान की इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट रुक रही है, वह आगे बढ़ नहीं पा रही है। साथ ही यहां पर इन्वेस्टमेंट्स का आना भी स्लो हो गया है, क्योंकि जो लोग यहां इन्वेस्टमेंट करते हैं, उनको टैक्निकली स्किल्ड वर्कर्स नहीं मिलते हैं। और तो और, आज हमारा अपना हवाई जहाज चलाने के लिए भी पायलैट हम बाहर से मंगाते हैं। ऐसी परिस्थिति में इस बात की बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत है कि हम स्किल डेवलपमेंट के बारे में कोई बड़ा कदम उठाएं। इस तरह का कदम उठाने के लिए जो इम्प्लॉयर्स हैं और जो कंपनी के जो मालिक हैं, उनको किस तरह की स्किल चाहिए, किस तरह के कारीगर चाहिए, किस तरह से इन्फॉर्मेशन टेक्नोलॉजी के क्षेत्र में डेवलपमेंट हो रहा है, इन सब बातों का उनको आइडिया होना चाहिए। इसके लिए वर्कर्स को भी ऐसी तरह ट्रेंड होना चाहिए, उनकी एक मॉरल रिस्पांसिबिलिटी होनी चाहिए। क्या पूरी गवर्नमेंट, मालिक और मजदूर तीनों मिल कर स्किल डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम की जिम्मेदारी नहीं उठा सकते हैं? एआईसीसी की तरफ से हमने यह प्रधान मंत्री महोदय को भी यह सुझाव दिया था कि आप एक वर्कर्स टैक्निकल यूनिवर्सिटी बनाइए, ताकि गांव में रहने वाले हर एक वर्कर को मिडल स्कूल के बाद टैक्निकल ट्रेनिंग दी जा सके। जो लोग बिलो पावर्टी लाइन हैं, उनको ऊंचा उठाने के लिए हम उन्हें टैक्निकल वर्कर बना सकते हैं और इसके लिए कुछ खर्चा सरकार अपनी तरफ से दे कर, उनके बोर्डिंग-लॉजिंग का इंतजाम करके, उन्हें ट्रेनिंग दिलवाए। इसके लिए हमने वर्किंग क्लास मूवमेंट की तरफ से "वर्कर्स" टैक्निकल यूनिवर्सिटी" कायम करने के लिए कहा। इसमें हरेक वर्कर को यह गारंटी देंगे कि उनके बच्चों को यहां पर टैक्निकल एजुकेशन में प्रायरिटी दी जाएगी, क्योंकि उनकी फैमिली टैक्निकल काम से जुड़ी हुई है। इसलिए मैं अपनी तरफ से, वर्किंग क्लास की तरफ से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारा जो टैक्निकल एजुकेशन है और टैक्निकल स्किल डेवलपमेंट है, उसके लिए फिर एक दफा गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से एक ट्राइपार्टाइट कांफ्रेंस बुलाकर इसके ऊपर डिस्कशन होनी चाहिए।

तीसरा प्वाइंट यह है कि उन्होंने अनआर्गेनाइज्ड वर्कर्स के लिए इसमें 30 हजार करोड़ रुपए दिए हैं। सर, अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर में 35 करोड़ वर्कर्स हैं। अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के वर्कर्स पॉवर्टी लाइन के नीचे रहते हैं। अब उनके बारे में यह कहते हैं कि आम आदमी बीमा योजना उनके लिए लागू करेंगे, राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य बीमा योजना लागू करेंगे और इसमें इंदिरा गांधी ओल्ड एज पेंशन लागू करेंगे। आज हमारा जो सोशल सिक्युरिटी नेट है, उसमें हम हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जी॰डी॰पी॰ का 1.5 परसेंट खर्च करते हैं, जबकि पाकिस्तान इसमें जी॰डी॰पी॰ का 2.0 परसेंट खर्च करता है और श्रीलंका इसमें जी॰डी॰पी॰ का 3.5 परसेंट खर्च करता है। इस प्रकार साउथ एशिया में इस मामले में इंडिया लोएस्ट लेवल में है, जहां पर इसमें जी॰डी॰पी॰ का सिर्फ 1.5 परसेंट खर्च होता है। सोशल सिक्युरिटी नेट हर वर्कर को चाहिए, अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के वर्कर को भी चाहिए। इन लोगों को अपना जीवन सुधारने के लिए, अपने बच्चों का जीवन सुधारने के लिए, अपने बच्चों को एजुकेशन देने के लिए तथा उनके हैल्थ के प्वायंट ऑफ व्यू को देखने के लिए चाहिए। ये वर्कर्स जो अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के वर्कर्स हैं, उनके बारे में हमें ज्यादा विचार करने की जरूरत है। अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के वर्कर्स के लिए इम्प्लायमेंट गारंटी नहीं है, उनके लिए कोई पेंशन स्कीम नहीं है। उनको 200 रुपए देने की बात करते हैं, जबकि आजकल 200 रुपए के पेंशन में कुछ नहीं होता है। इसलिए मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूं कि हमारे अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के सम्बन्ध में जितने पैसे इन्होंने दिए हैं, उससे कुछ नहीं होगा। इससे पहले जो रिपोर्ट्स आई हुई हैं, उन पर डिस्कशन करके अनआर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के लिए एक नई स्कीम लानी चाहिए।

सर, आयरन ओर के बारे में भी मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूं। इसका एक्सपोर्ट हो रहा है। इसका बहुत ज्यादा एक्सपोर्ट हो रहा है। आने वाले 15-20 वर्षों के अन्दर हम करीब-करीब 2 सौ मिलियन टन आयरन ओर प्रोड्यूस करने वाले हैं। हमारे जो पूरे डिपोजिट्स हैं, अगर उन्हें जापान वाले या चाइना वाले सस्ते दामों में ले जाएंगे, फिर उसी को स्टील बनाकर हमारे इंडिया से काम्पीटीशन करेंगे। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि आयरन ओर को एक्सपोर्ट करना बन्द किया जाना चाहिए। अगर हिन्दुस्तान के आयरन ओर के स्टील वर्कर का कुछ भला करना चाहते हैं तो यह सबसे ज्यादा जरूरी है।

सर, एक बात हमें बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे फाइनांस मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि वह पब्लिक सेक्टर का डिस्इन्वेस्टमेंट करेंगे। यह बात तय हो गई है, यू०पी०ए० गवर्नमेंट में यह एग्रीमेंट है कि जो प्रॉफिट मेंकिंग पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्रीज़ है, वे डिस्इन्वेस्टमेंट में नहीं जाएंगे, उनको प्रॉफिट वाले में फरदर इन्वेस्टमेंट करेंगे, ऐसा उन्होंने कहा, मगर इसमें डिस्इन्वेस्टमेंट के बारे में भी उन्होंने कहा।

सर, यह सबसे इम्पॉर्टेंट प्वायंट है कि अगर प्रोडक्टिव फोर्सेज़ को ताकत दिलानी है, देश के अन्दर प्रोडक्टिव फोर्सेज़ को स्ट्रेंथेन करना है तथा हमारे उत्पादन को और आगे बढ़ाना है — हमारा प्रोडक्शन इस समय 10 परसेंट से गिर कर 7 परसेंट तक आ गया है और 6-7 परसेंट पर है, अगर हमें यह उत्पादन बढ़ाना है, प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना है तो हमें पूरा एटमोस्फेयर चेंज करना पड़ेगा। लेबर्स को, वर्किंग क्लास मूवमेंट को, स्किल्ड वर्कर्स को और इंजीनियर्स को कंफिडेंस में लेना पड़ेगा। उनको कंफिडेंस में लेकर, उनसे बातचीत करके कि किस तरह हम लोग बूस्ट-अप कर सकते हैं -- प्रोडक्शन के मामले में चाइना के मुकाबले इंडिया बहुत पीछे है, हमें चाइना के मुकाबले में आगे बढ़ना है तो हमारे वर्किंग क्लास मूवमेंट को या वर्कर्स को ताकतवर बनाना चाहिए। जितने लेबर कानून हैं, पिछले 40-50 वर्ष पहले जो लेबर कानून बने, आज वही कानून चल रहे हैं। आज के हालात के मुताबिक, आज की परिस्थितियों के मुताबिक लेबर कानून नहीं बना। मैं चाहता हूं कि ऐसा लेबर कानून बने, जो आज की परिस्थितियों में सूटेबल हो, जिससे कि वर्कर्स दिल खोल कर काम करें, मेहनत करें और प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा सकें। यह मैं कहना चाहता हूं।

दूसरी बात, हमारे यहां जितना भी इनवैस्टमेंट आ रहा है, प्रोडक्शन के नाम पर आ रहा है जिस में वर्कर्स का exploitation हो रहा है। कहीं भी इंडस्ट्री बनती है, उस में 70 परसेंट, 80 परसेंट कांट्रैक्ट वर्कर्स रखे जाते हैं जिन्हें वे हजार, दो हजार रुपए महीना तनख्वाह देते हैं, लेकिन वहां permanent workers 10—20 परसेंट से ज्यादा नहीं रहते हैं। तो exploitation of labour बहुत ज्यादा हो रहा है। इस exploitation of labour को रोकने के लिए गवर्नमेंट को कदम उठाना चाहिए तभी इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ व इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ व इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्टिविटी आगे बढ़ सकती है, सर, आज कांट्रैक्ट वर्कर्स की परिस्थिति बिलो पावरटी लाइन की जैसी हो रही है और वे भी कांट्रैक्ट लेबर की तरह काम कर रहे हैं। आज हर इंडस्ट्री के अंदर 30 से 40 परसेंट कांट्रैक्ट वर्कर्स काम कर रहे हैं। Even जो permanent nature of job है, उस में भी कांट्रैक्ट वर्कर्स से काम कराया जा रहा है।

सर, हमारी जी०डी०पी० ग्रोथ 8.8 परसेंट बतायी गयी है जबकि आज चाइना 10 से 12 परसेंट तक पहुंच रहा है। सर, हमारी जी०डी०पी० ग्रोथ तभी होती है जबकि इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्टिविटी आगे बढ़े। सर, तीसरी बात, मैं यह सजैस्ट करना चाहता हूं कि आज एम्प्लॉयर और एम्प्लाईज के रिलेशंस को बदले जाने की जरूरत है। मालिक और मजदूर में से मजदूर का नाम निकाला जाना चाहिए। इसके लिए हमारे कंपनी लॉ को अमेंड कर के हरेक वर्कर को कंपनी का शेयर होल्डर बनाया जाए और इसके अपॉइंटमेंट ऑर्डर में लिखा जाए कि Shareholder-cum-fitter has been appointed. इससे वर्कर शेयरहोल्डर भी होगा, ऑपरेटर भी होगा और वर्कर भी होगा। इससे उसका इंडस्ट्री के साथ ज्यादा लगाव होगा और उसमें पार्टनरशिप की भावना रहेगी। उसका participate in the management भी रहेगा।

इसी तरह ग्रेच्युटी के अंदर सीलिंग रखी गयी है। वह उसे 3 लाख 50 हजार ही मिलती है, चाहे उस ने 40 वर्ष या 50 वर्ष भी काम किया हो। तो यह सीलिंग निकाल दी जानी चाहिए। इसी तरह recently गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया ने बोनस एक्ट अमेंड किया है जिसके अंदर 10 हजार की सीलिंग रखी गयी है। सर, प्रोफिट के ऊपर कोई सीलिंग नहीं है, मुनाफे के ऊपर कोई सीलिंग नहीं है, मगर वर्कर्स को बोनस देने के ऊपर सीलिंग रखना कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। मैं आप से रिक्वैस्ट करता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया को इस बारे में भी विचार करना चाहिए। वर्कर जितना प्रोफिट कमाता है, उसी पर उसको बोनस मिलना चाहिए।

फिर छठवें वेतन आयोग की रिपोर्ट मार्च के अंत तक देने की बात है। अगर मार्च के अंत तक दी गयी तो ठीक है और नहीं दी तो interim relief दी जानी चाहिए। यह मेरा निवेदन है। सर, आज बैंकिंग इंडस्ट्री के अंदर बहुत ज्यादा जुल्म हो रहा है। वहां वर्क लोड बढ़ रहा है। बैंक्स में किसी भी जगह वैकेंसीज फिल अप नहीं की जा रही हैं जिस कारण existing staff के ऊपर वर्क लोड बढ़ रहा है। सर, रेलवे के अंदर भी 1 लाख वैकेंसीज हैं जोकि पिछले 4 साल से पड़ी हुई हैं। उन पर कोई भर्ती नहीं हो रही है। इस कारण existing वर्कर्स के ऊपर वर्क लोड बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ रहा है और वे बहुत ज्यादा tense हो जाते हैं।

मैं इन सभी बातों के ऊपर ध्यान देने के लिए गवर्नमेंट से अपील करता हूं। अंत में, जैसे गवर्नमेंट गरीब लोगों के लिए घर बना रही है, उसी तरह इंडस्ट्रियल वर्कर्स के लिए भी हाउसिंग प्लान बनाया जाना चाहिए। इतना ही निवेदन करते हुए मैं इस बजट का सपोर्ट करता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Thank you very much. Now, Dr. K. Keshava Rao.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you very much, Sir. Sir, I have heard with rapt attention the speakers from the Opposition, who are not here now. I am not trying to repeat whatever they said or whatever Mr. Chidambaram ahd said. *(Interruptions)*.

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण पाणि: हमारी संख्या आप से ज्यादा है।

डॉ० के० केशव राव: आप बात कीजिए, लेकिन मैं आप को reply इसलिए करना चाह रहा था कि आप जो बात करें, वह आंकड़ों के ऊपर करें जो चिदम्बरम साहब ने दिए हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... शौरी जी जो कह रहे थे वह तो जैसे semantic war हो रही थी।

I am an arden: reader of Mr. Shourie. I used to read him particularly during the Emergency days. Little did I realise, at that time, that a false substance could be so blown up to make you believe and take you into a make-believe world. He was depending too much on statistics and quoted one after the other. This is what Mr. Manohar Joshi also did. He brought the issue of inflation. He quoted for around twelve minutes all the statistics to tell us that the inflation is out of control. I can only relate them back to their own colleague Mr. Arun Jaitley's remarks; he said, "there are lies, damn lie and statistics." If Dr. Manohar Joshi were to depend on 'damned untruths" more than damned untruths on statistics, let me tell him the inflation has been under control. This nation has experienced an inflation of 20 points in 70s. It was brought down to 16 points. The country suffered for long time at 12. During the NDA regime, it was 6. And, today, it is somewhere at 3.5. If he still has a grouse or a grievance, I am sorry because the entire world is suffering from price rise and inflationary trends. I am not trying to escape from that. But, at the same time, when you are trying to challenge on the inflationary trends and also the price rise, I would like to tell you that the facts you are trying to depend on are not all that correct.

According to Dr. Bimal Jalan and also Mr. Arun Shourie, there was a devastating speech by my sister, Shrimati Brinda Karat. It is good. She was very articulate. She was hyperbolic too. She could use all the words against the Congress even though her party is supporting our economic policies.

Sir, I have with me the memorandum that the Left parties have given to the Prime Minister and the UPA Government. I am having it in my hand. I am trying to ask the CPI (M) Members who are here to tell me a single point which was not addressed. The Budget is not a magic wand. Nor the Finance Minister is a super-Minister. Nor is it like an electric switch that we can switch on and get the light. They ought to be addressed. That is why in the same State ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ABANI ROY (West Bengal): Speak on the Budget. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): He is speaking on the Budget. ...*(Interruptions)*... What is your problem Mr. Abani Roy? ...*(Interruptions)*... He is speaking on the Budget. ...*(Interruptions)*... What is the problem. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Your perception of the figures is wrong. Your perception of development is wrong. Your perception, that there is no direction, is wrong. There is a clear

direction. The hon. Member from the CPI(M) spoke on inclusive growth. 'Inclusive' is not something that we have invented now. He said, 'more inclusive.' Words are 'more inclusive.' 'More' means that already there is 'inclusiveness' and we want 'more' to reach there. I would again like to tell this to my friends from the Opposition, BJP, who quoted the CAG Report and other reports. He has quoted something like 12 reports to tell us that things are bad. It was Bimal Jalanji who brought back the sense to tell us that the CAG, from the beginning, say from 60s, has been using the same language. You appoint a committee when things go wrong. You appoint an expert to tell you what exactly you need to do. This is what Mr. Yechury and you have said. Mr. Yechury was right when he said that the architecture of inclusiveness is a mid-course correction. The Budget is a mid-course correction. What we are doing in the Budget is not playing with the figures.

The Finance Minister probably cannot speak on behalf of the Agriculture Minister as to what exactly should be done to use the balance fertilizers or soil conservation or get the seeds better served. It is the Agriculture Minister who does it.

If somebody is trying to tell me that education is becoming elitist because there are 6,000 model schools, it is all right. The Education Ministry has to answer it. If some Ministry has failed, that Ministry has to explain it to us. But what the Finance Ministry or the Government, through the Budget, can do is, it can give allocation, because that has become a barometer for our achievements of the delivery system. So that's exactly what has been done.

I know Mr. Radhakrishna very well. He was the Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University. He is a very good colleague of mine. What he has done is that he has tried to suggest requires measures. For example, watershed. How we could go about and do it; how the system can be changed; and what exactly are the requirements of the poor farmers, etc. These are the few parameters that he suggested. This is what exactly the Government wanted. We have been implementing schemes after schemes, but without much result. So this is what we looked into? We looked back to some academics who can make a regular study. That is what exactly has been done. When the report comes, the Government would certainly study it. To say that the CAG report is not placed before the House is not correct. Mr. Shourie was a respectable Minister. He served for a long time. he knows these. Sir, the moment the CAG Report is prepared, it is placed on the Table of the House. You can lay your hand on it. It also goes to the Government. Can you give one example where a Government has changed a CAG Report, or even the comments of the CAG Report? The Government cannot just do it. All that the Government can do is, sign and send it back to the CAG even if it finds fault with the Government. Let us think that it is delayed for a day or two. It does no mean that the CAG Report is tinkered with. So, the Reports are with you. It is this which is indicative of this Government's honesty and commitment to transparency. If something goes wrong, we want our experts to tell us that something has gone wrong. If something is wrong in the implementation, we want the CAG to find it out and tell this house; so that this House lends its voice and the Government has to correct itself. That is how all the parliamentary systems work. In the parliamentary system Government is accountable. This House has to consider this. At this rate, I would like to say, I agree with Mr. Poojary on SEZs. I am also saying that not all of us are happy. I am one of those who, having been born in the four walls of Marxist literature, thought that I myself was a Marxist. I think, at the age of under-graduation, perhaps, I could not understand Das Capitalism and many could not understand. So, the question is not just talking about the public sector undertakings. The public sector undertakings have again got their prime place. Forty-eight industries are now listed. The number is raised from

twenty-seven. You can't just say that all the 113 PSUs should be taken up at once. In 1990s, you have gone back to some kind of, in your own language, a neo-liberalised era." Now, we are trying to pick up. We want to say that the globalisation might be failing a milieu like India. An Indian milieu is certainly not adjustable to unchecked a globalised sector. When you quote these men, all this is true. Almost all the authors of globalisation are realising that the East and India are not able to adjust themselves. It is because of the very peculiar society that we have inherited. We have inherited a stratified society. Sir, we have to adjust ourselves, we make corrections. So, all that we are trying to do through these reports and all that we are trying to realive is that swift changes are necessary. One of the very important points that we need to understand is, swift changes are necessary in this age of fast growth. Sir, I am telling you this. Everyone has been quoting Mr. Swaminathan. I have great respect for him. We want Swaminathan Commission's Report to be implemented. I agree. But, I am trying to ask from Mr. Swaminathan, though he is not here, through my own voice: What exactly is the sanctity attached to 50 per cent over the cost? The cost of operations in Andhra is less than Punjab. The cost could be less in Vidharbha. Then, what exactly is the 50 per cent? That means, if the cost is Rs. 10, it becomes Rs. 15 and if the cost is Rs. 100, it becomes Rs. 150. It varies. So, that is how, when studies come, they are discussed. In one of the seminars when I shared the platform, I did raise these issues. These are to be discussed. A responsible Government does discuss and it does go to the experts. It would like to verify its own facts so that it comes out with a policy formulation. So, all this is for policy formulations. We need these kinds of inputs which this Government has been doing.

Sir, I would not take much time. We are trying to discuss the issue of edcucation here. The Chairman has agreed to give some time to education. That is a subject which is dear to my heart, having presided over the Ministry in the State for a long time. That apart, what is to be done is in agriculture. Sir, agriculture remains to be the Achilles heel of the Indian economy. Everybody will agree with this. Today, the growth rate is 2 to 2.6 per cent. In spite of all our slogans, efforts and good intentions, we have not been able to do anything with our agriculture. Why? The cultivable land has not increased. It is constant. It is flattened. It is somewhere at 141, 142 or 143 million hectare. It is at the 141 level. Your population has gone up from 36 crore to 108 from 1950. the only asset that you have is the yield gap. Here, your yield is something like 19 tonnes per hectare, and it is 48 in China. It is because you still have that scope. But at what cost is another thing. The cost is mechanisation. At what cost? In China, you have, what is called, town/village enterprises. There is a regular plan, a concrete plan, where you are trying to rehabilitate people. The dislocated people have been taken to those towns for working in those enterprises. That, we have not yet developed. Although we have talked about the growth centres way back in seventies, they have not clicked. This is what they need to do. So, agriculture, according to me, needs a top priority. The investment must be increased. Saying 'The investment in agriculture has not increased' is wrong. Investment in agriculture is increased. I am happy that all of us have wholeheartedly welcomed the loan waiver. Somebody says that there is no budgetary support given to it. Where is the budgetary support needed for liquidits to banks? I have not understand this economics. The budgetary support requires your sanction here. But this was a policy decision of the Government that they would waive Rs. 60,000/- crores by providing liquidity to the banks. And if I remember correctly, the NABAND Chairman said. 'Already, there are funds available with us. We have the methods. There is a strategy that the Finance Ministry has already given for the last two months, and we are working on that." ...(*Interruptions*)... So, saying 'there is no budgetary back-up' is wrong. It is a wrong view because there is in place what exactly is needed to support the banks to meet the policy that we have framed.

5.00 PM

Sir, on agriculture, I want to make two or three points more. (*Time bell*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): One minute, please. Mr. Keshava Rao, there is one problem. The Congress Party has another one hour and twenty-two minutes.

SHRI TARLOCHAN SINGH (Haryana): Members are not here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Let me complete. I am going by the time given here. That is my problem. Yet, I am controlling. ...(*Interruptions*)... Yet, I am controlling. Mr. Keshava Rao, that does not mean that you should speak for all the one hour and twenty-two minutes. There are three Members more.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: How much time is left, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF P.J. KURIEN): Take five minutes more. Within five minutes you have to conclude.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Okay. I am looking at the watch. I will take five minutes more. What is exactly happening is that we have the Green Revolution. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Within five minutes, please conclude.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: I am looking at the watch. I will conclude, Sir.

We had the Green Revolution. After that, was there a single revolutionary technology that has been created or transferred to the land? We had good days of exports of rice. Oilseeds: we have the oilseeds. In seventies, we were importing oil to the tune of Rs. 1300 crores. It was brought down, in nineties, to something like Rs. 1000 crores. Now, after this Mission Oilseeds Mission, Yellow Revolution, it was brought down to 50 crores Today, it is Rs. 12,000 crores. Why? How did it go out of your hands? Is it wrong fertilizer utilization. What is happening to our irrigation? We have not given any attention to irrigation although all the IAS *babus* are managing the technology missions. Experts like Mr. Joshi and others are sitting here; they will only speak to them and advise them. They take notes only to consider them sitting in their cosy rooms. So, this exactly needs some kind of a shift in our thinking or mindset. ...(*Interruptions*)...

Agriculture should be given to those who are experts totally concerned about it. Romanticising poverty or romanticising agricultural distress will not help. It is good when you people talk about poor. It makes a man like me happy. Sitting in an air-conditioned room here you will consider that you will never go back there because it would be a hell going back to your place. When you try to romanticise poverty, you really don't know in which place you are trying to live. So, agriculture should get back ino the hands of agriculture scientists and agriculture technologists. Let them prepare and formulate the policy for us. This amount of Rs. 60,000 crores is like this. I would put it in one sentence. It is easy to give a man a fish when he is hungry. But when we teach him to catch a fish. That will help him. This amount of Rs. 60,000 crores to a man is most welcome. It is necessary because it is his right. It is not any mercy or largesse that you are giving. There is a legal sanction to thousands of crores or lakhs of crores rupees in bankruptcy. This one-time waiver to the corporate sector is there. So, this man, the farmer has earned it rightly because he is in distress, it is our concern and we have understood his difficulties. But it is not the "be-all and end-all" of it. What we need to do is to follow it up by immediately providing a fresh loan, strong

technological base, strong support and better the seeds, where you are becoming pro-corporate. Unfortunately even the essential commodities are on forward trading list. When we were trying to fight against the Bt. cotton strains, the Bt. cotton people went and go it eliminated from the Essential Commodities Act. Today, they can do whatever they like. They now take on neem. Let us not do it, as we are doing. Let not our fertile lands go for SEZ, as we are doing. I want to ask you, Sir, one thing.

In a parliamentary democracy, when the Government is accountable to this House and we have decided to have what is known as the Committee System, where the Standing Committee—it is nothing but another miniature of the House which gives expression to its opinion when it gives a unanimous Report, should it not be considered as the voice of the House? If it is the voice of the House, can a Minister get up and say that "the Report is there and we understand it, but the Government has taken this particular stand"? I am a Member of a Standing Committee. I have been a Member of the Sub-Committee which had adopted the draft on SEZ. We have suggested many things about the SEZ . But the other day, the concerned Minister came and told us, "No man, it is all right. The SEZ is working well". So is the case of FDI and retail shops. So, the point is that when the discussions take place in this House, let them be given some credence. Let them be taken seriously. If there is something wrong, let there be further scrutiny by experts and scientists, and then attempt a plan formulation. As Sir, Rajaji has said, when we are trying to get a consensus on nuclear deal, why don't we try to have consensus on agricultural issues like this? Thank you very much.

SHRI NARESH GUJRAL (Punjab): Sir, as I rise to speak on the General Budget, I am reminded of a poem, which is one of John F. Kennedy's favourite poems, and I quote:

> "God and the soldier all men adore,
> in times of trouble and no more,
> for when war is over and all things righted,
> God is forgotten, the old soldier slighted."

In the election year, we can substitute the word "soldier" with "farmer". For suddenly after years of neglect, this Government finally feels the need to remember the humble farmer. In view of the impending elections, the pitiable, the miserable agriculturist, who is responsible for feeding the nation, is finally at the centrestage. Three cheers for the Indian democracy! Small land holdings coupled with the escalating cost of inputs, absence of timely credit facilities at reasonable rates of interest, dependence on rain Gods even after 60 years of independence, and, last but not the least, unremunerative Minimum Support Price have pushed the farmer not only to brink of bankruptcy but also suicide. Every time the farmer asks for remunerative price for his produce, the Government denies him his rights and resorts to imports at much higher prices. If you truly wish to make the farm sector healthy, you should either follow the Swaminathan formula on Minimum Support Price or allow free movement of all agricultural produce, both nationally and internationally, so that the farmer may also earn a decent livelihood.

Elections or no elections, my SAD Party and our leader Shri Prakash Singh Badal, have always championed the cause of the poor Indian farmer, who toils day and night to make both ends meet.

Our Government in Punjab was the first to provide free electricity to the farm sector. Our party has been constantly agitating to demand remunerative prices for the farmer's produce

and we have been in the forefront for years demanding complete waiver of all outstanding debts of the impoverished farmer. For speaking out and protecting the farmer's interest, our party has been repeatedly criticised by the Ruling combine and our Government has been termed irresponsible.

Yet, I would like to congratulate the Central Government and the Finance Minister, in particular, for finally waking up to reality, though, I wise, the Government had taken this welcome step of writing off the small farmer's overdue debt much earlier than the election year. It certainly would have prevented many debt-ridden farmers from committing suicide.

However, Sir, we have difference with the Government on the methodology being followed. No distinction has been made between irrigated and non-irrigated land.

At the same time, it is unfair and illogical that a farmer who possesses five acres of land can have his entire non-performing debt written off while his brother with 5.10 acres of land gets scant relief. I would urge upon the Government to make amendments and create slabs just the way it is done for income tax so that the farmers, who are reeling under debt, who own 10 to 15 acres of land, may also get substantial relief.

Sir, it is very disheartening to see that the Budget has done grave injustice to Punjab, a State that feeds the nation at the cost of depleting its own valuable natural resources. Our water table has declined drastically; thereby raising the cost of irrigation and our soil quality is showing signs of fatigue due to the constant paddy-wheat cycle.

The State which contributes over 50 per cent to the nation's food basket, will receive a meagre Rs. 1,100 crores or just 1.5 per cent as debt waiver against the total institutional outstanding loans in the State of Rs. 19,000 crores, In addition, the small and marginal farmers in Punjab have borrowed another Rs. 12,000 crore from the moneylenders at extremely high rates of interest.

Our canals are in a sad state of disrepair due to years of neglect; yet, our repeated pleas for funds from the Central falls on deaf ears.

Our industry has been crippled because our neighbouring States, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, have been provided complete exemptions from tax. While we have no problem with that, our demand for a level-playing field evokes no response from the Centre. As a result, our unemployed and frustrated youth are increasingly falling victims to the menace of drugs, which has assumed alarming proportions.

We have been left out of the knowledge revolution in the absence of IITs and IIMs. We are offered no large Centrally funded medical institute, despite Bhatinda being commonly called a cancer district. I would implore the Prime Minister to kindly ensure that Punjab also becomes part of the Indian growth story.

Sir, the Finance Minister has promised to provide liquidity to banks so that they can start refinancing the farm sector. In reality, as Dr. Sengupta pointed out, a lending agency would be reluctant to offer loans to farmers who have defaulted in the past and whose loan had to be written off. The Government needs to ensure that such farmer is not discriminated against in the future.

Unfortunately, the Budget has overlooked the claims of labour-intensive industries such as apparel, leather, handicrafts and gems and jewellery. Due to the rupee getting stronger,

these industries are showing a negative growth and lakhs of unskilled workers are being fired. Some fiscal incentives should have been provided for them. Expenses made on R & D by companies in these sectors should also have been given a weighted deduction of 150 per cent under Income Tax, as is provided to pharmaceuticals, agricultural implements, seeds, etc.

Exporters are bearing the brunt of a weak dollar, and they face a double whammy by way of FBT on foreign travel. Sir, I am sure that many of my Ministerial colleagues, who spend months abroad at Government expense, would agree with me that foreign travel for business cannot be termed as pleasure. Mr. Finance Minister, we all know that outlays can result in outcome only if there is strict accountability. Accountability can be achieved only if there is fear of the law. If those who cheat and steal are punished expeditiously, the outcome would be more positive. I would have liked to see a large increase in the outlay for Judiciary so that the judicial process in the country is expedited. Only then will the Central Government grants reach the ultimate beneficiary.

Sir, the world and all of us respect our Prime Minister as a renowned economist. I would humbly remind him that creative window dressing may make good politics in the short run, but never a sound economics in the long run. Let us hope and pray that keeping large figures off the Budget Sheet does not unleash inflationary pressures on the economy and avoidable misery for the *Aam Admi* and the next Government. Thank you.

श्री तरलोचन सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट के बाद भारत में लाखों-करोड़ों रुपए सरकार की तरफ से खर्च किए गए कि जो काम उन्होंने फार्मर्स के loan waiver का किया है, वह शायद पहले हुआ ही नहीं। शायद Lord Ashoka के बाद इनको ही यह चांस मिला है। सर, 1992 में, जब नरसिंह राव जी प्राइम मिनिस्टर थे तो फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने 13 मार्च को पार्लियामेंट में एक लिखित जवाब दिया, and it states: "The Government of India provided Rs. 7,714 crores as loan waiver, when each farmer was given Rs. 10,000. In addition, the co-operative sector, on a 50-50 basis between the State Government and the Government of India, was given Rs. 8,800 crores. So, it means a waiving of loans, at that time, to the farmers, and there was no discrimination. Every farmer, be it small or big, got the benefit. The total amount was Rs. 16,514 crores. These are Government figures. Now, if we count the value of rupees in 1990 and today, this amount will be more than Rs. 1 lakh crores. And this was given by Chowdhury Devi Lal, as promised to the people, on the very first year when he became the Deputy Prime Minister. He had not given it at the fag end when he was retiring. This shows how much that Government valued the farmer and how much seriously they took the promises made to them. In the present system, the farmers are unhappy; the experts are coming out with new statements everyday on what the benefits to farmers are.

As per Government's own figures, Punjab and Haryana are two States where the farmers actually repay their loans. At one place, it is mentioned that 70 per cent of the farmers pay back the loans which they take. Now, they are being deprived of this benefit because they are law-abiding citizens and they have paid back their loans. So, what is the incentive in this scheme for those who have paid back their loans to the banks? You are ignoring them. Secondly, Sir, you have said that farmers owning more than 5 acres do not fall in that category. Is it their fault that they produce more for the people? Why should they not be given? Why this discrimination? I don't understand this. Whether it is a big or small farmer, all are alike but those who produce food for us, they suffer the maximum and they are not being given any benefit. I do not know what would be the Government's reasoning behind this. Sir, I had read an article by Shri Sampat Singh who had been the Finance Minister twice in Haryana.

He had given figures and that letter has been published all over. According to him, the amount of loan outstanding against farmers in Haryana was Rs. 12,194 crores. But, now, only two per cent farmers there would be benefited by this loan waiver and the money coming to them would be so meagre that it may not be even accounted for. Ludhiana University, which is the premier agricultural university in the country, has come out with some figures. Shri Naresh Gujaral has put it very well saying what is going to benefit farmers in Punjab. First of all, as I have mentioned already, the people of Punjab are paying back the loan. Secondly, the number of those who have loan outstanding against their names is very low and the benefit is only for overdues. So, they are suffering the maximum and still they are getting the least. Then, yesterday or a couple of days back, a new order has come that the corporate sector has been banned to purchase any wheat in Punjab and Haryana. The Essential Commodities Act has also been promulgated. So, these two are going to be against the farmers, both in Punjab and Haryana next month when the wheat comes into the market which means that the Punjab and Haryana farmers will suffer the maximum; they won't be able to sell their wheat like any industrialist outside the market. This is the gift that the Government has given to the farmers of both these States.

Let me come to steel. I just read two days ago that prices of steel have gone up after the announcement of the Budget by forty per cent. Who is suffering? One industry that has been hit hard is forging and engineering industry which is all export-oriented. They are all now on the verge of the closure. Our dear friend, Shri Bansal, the most intelligent Minister that Chandigarh has produced, knows that these industries are located in north India. They are on the verge of closure because the steel prices have gone up and they cannot compete. Now, prices of our steel here are fifty per cent higher that of China, 25 per cent higher than that of USA. Who will buy steel products of our industry in that case? The Government is not coming forward to either lower the prices or ban the export of iron ore. Why are we selling our iron ore? China and Taiwan have banned totally the export of their raw material. And we are selling it abroad! Why don't we also put an end to it so that people in India produce more steel which is cheaper?

Then, Sir, prices of all the consumer goods have gone up. I need not quote the prices of milk; refined oil is Rs. 70 a litre, and it was fifty rupees previously. Mustard oil has gone up by Rs. 10 per kg. Desi ghee has gone up Rs. 5 per kg. Low quality rice is now selling at Rs. 17 per kg. And the good quality rice is being sold at Rs. 45 per kilogram. There is an increase in the price of rice by Rs. 10. On the one side, we say that the prices of cars have come down. You are only helping the car manufacturers, and the car prices are coming down. What about the things the people eat? You say that this Budget is for the *aam aadmi*. The prices of things like wheat, rice, *dal*, etc., used by the *aam aadmi* are going up. Now, milk is not within the reach of the people. They cannot buy milk because its prices have gone very high. The *aam aadmi* is suffering because the inflation is so high. The prices of soap have also gone up. You go and buy anything from the market. *Masoor dal* is being sold at Rs. 50 per kilogram. It is the cheapest *dal* available in the market. On the one side, you say the sensex has gone up. Is the poor man going to eat the sensex? Is the poor man going to count whether it is 7000 or 10000? What is his status in the market? He cannot buy anything in the market. Where should he go?

Sir, as far as the minorities are concerned, I am happy that the Government is very serious to do more for the minorities. The Government has now announced that 90 districts in the country where the number of minorities is more have been selected. Can I ask only one question? Out of these 90 districts, is there any Christian district? Out of these 90 districts,

is there any Sikh district? Out of these 90 districts, is there any Buddhist district? Why is the Government not doing justice to all minorities? Are there no poor people among Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists? Have they no say, or, are they not minorities in this country? If they have no say, then, they should be deleted from the category of minorities. You are treating only one community as minority because you need their votes. We are happy you are doing these things for the Muslims. Do everything for the Muslims, but, please, for God's sake, don't kill other minorities. I have collected all these figures. Not a single district where other minorities are living has been included in the list of 90 districts. The Government has now given Rs. 3,780 crores for these districts. You are opening bank branches there. Please come out with the figures which show that you are helping all minorities.

Sir, recently, another order has been issued. There is one Maulana Azad Education Fund, which is meant for minority educational institutions. Now, you are giving them more money. In the last Session, I put a question, in this regard. The question was, has any grant been given, in the last 20 years, to any non-Muslim educational institution in India from the Maulana Azad Education Fund? The answer was 'nil'. They only say that it is for the minorities. You take the scholarship schemes. You are opening bank branches there; you are doing modernisation of madarsas. What I have read in newspapers is that you want to divide the minorities. You divide the majority and the minority, but, please, don't divide the minorities. All over the world, the smaller a minority is, more is given. But, here, because the number of votes is more, so you prefer those who have more votes. So, for God's sake, do keep India fully united. We help all minorities. I am a minority man. I feel for them. But, don't bring politics into this. *(Time-bell)* Sir, I always abide by your orders. So, I don't want to add more. My plea is, as Mr. Gujral has said, the Budget should be more attentive to Punjab and Haryana. Mr. Sharad Joshi, who is the leader of the agriculturists, is sitting here. ...*(Interruptions)*... These two States, namely, Punjab and Haryana have saved India from hunger. We are the ones who suffered the most and provided food for the country. But, in this Budget, no additional thing has been given for Haryana; no additional thing has been given for Punjab. Please do something for them. The loan-waiver is not going to help farmers. The farmer will be happy when he sells his produce at the market price, when he gets every benefit because he is working hard. Please help the farmers, if you can. Sir, you always help me, though, at the fag-end. Sir, I am thankful to you.

KUMARI NIRMALA DESHPANDE (Nominated): Sir, let me, at the outset, congratulate the Finance Minister for creating a kind of a perception in the whole country that this Budget has helped many sections. Sir, I can see from the newspapers and on visiting States that the people really feel that they have got something and they welcome this Budget. So, for this perception, I would like to heartily congratulate the Finance Minister.

At the same time, the biggest gift to the poor farmers of such areas where there were maximum number of suicide by farmers is this loan waiver. I come from Vidarbha. But, may I say that the loan waiver is a kind of oxygen to the patient? This is a temporary measure. Unless the patient gets healthy, such things — of course, it was necessary and we welcome the waiver; this will give a big relief to the farmers who are on the verge of suicide — are not enough. Something is wrong with our whole policy of agriculture, not today but for a number of decades, not only in India, but all over the world. It seems, the Mother Earth is now in tears and ecologists say that one of the reasons is the wrong method of agriculture. We have forgotten that we call the earth mother, as in Veda: माता भूमी पुत्रोअहं पृथिव्या: Mother Earth is our mother and as Lady E. Belfer has written in her book 'Living Soil', the soil is living. It is

not a machine just to produce foodgrains or whatever we need. It is living and this concept is unfortunately absent from the policy-makers' thinking and also many experts with whom I have had interaction. We are neglecting the fertility of the soil. One of the major reasons is the overdose of chemical fertilizers and also the overdose of pesticides, insecticides. All that is killing the micro-organisms in the soil and the soil is becoming infertile. So, to retain the fertility of the soil we have to go back to the root of the problem.

There is a whole wheel of life starting from soil. If the soil is not healthy, the products are not healthy. Those who eat that, the human beings, they are also not healthy. Sir, for the whole wheel of life something needs to be done. May I suggest that we have to go to the concept of organic farming which Mahatma Gandhi had advised us many decades back? We, in India, had developed this concept of organic farming for centuries together. Dr. King, who wrote the book at the end of the 19th Century, "Farmers of the 40 Centuries" says that the farmers of India and China, who have retained the fertility of the soil for 40 centuries are now following the West and destroying their soil. So, unless we take to organic farming — organic farming means protection of the cows, bullocks also and all kinds of organic fertilisers — we will not be able to help the farmers. Really, why do the farmers today have to take loans which they cannot repay and why are they going to end their lives? Because, the input cost is going up. All the chemical fertilizers and all that is required for farming is becoming costlier and costlier and the farmers cannot afford. That is one of the reasons. Then, they do not get for their products what they really deserve.

So, to solve this problem, I would like to request the Government and all those who are interested in agriculture that let us seriously think about organic farming. We cannot shift over suddenly, but a process can be started. I am glad that a thought is being given to organic farming and many NGOs are working on it.

My friend, Mr. Arun Shourie spoke about NREGP and said that many things are happening that should not happen and the poor who are supposed to get help are not getting. Anyway, we are working in the field and we know what is happening. It is fact that the whole system is responsible for what is happening. Both these Acts, the NREGP and RTI are revolutionary Acts and if implemented properly can revolutionalise the whole society. But, who are implementing it? It is just the same bureaucracy, which we have inherited from the British colonial rulers. I am sorry to say, there is not much improvement. We work all over India. Whosoever maybe in power, whatever Government maybe there, the system is the same and that is why the results are almost the same. So, what is needed is a change in the system. Some kind of improvement in the system is needed. Let us apply our minds and see how we can do it. But, so far as NREGP is concerned, we can utilise the people of India at the grassroots. If the Gram Sabha of every village is entrusted not only to monitor but also to plan the whole work and also monitor it properly and do social auditing, we will find a dramatic change. So, if the Gram Sabha, — not only the elected representatives, but the Gram Sabha means the whole village community — is empowered to oversee this scheme, we will get very good results. With that, I would also like to say that it is not just pointing out fingers at this party or that party or this Government or that Government. The system is the same all over India and the whole system needs a radical change.

Our hon. Home Minister is here, I would also like to point out that we have faced all over India, in every State with the insensitivity of the Police Force, especially with regard to the poor, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities. I think, it is not their fault. The fault lies somewhere in the training, in the system and you have to go from pillar to post as

I had to do it recently in Hyderabad for Minority Women, to give them justice and it is because of insensitivity that such things happen and the Government gets a bad name. Can we not change the mindsets of the Police Force? I don't want to point a finger at anybody but during 2002 what we found in Gujarat was that the victim woman of the minority community told me that, "फौजी तो देवता है।" The Army did the job so well. She said, "यह तो देवता है।" And when I asked about the Police, they said, "यह तो राक्षस है।" They come from the same social strata. Why is this difference? In other areas, I found mostly the Army is still, by God's grace, secular and does the job it has asked to do. Why is the police not able to do it? I am sorry to say that the police in our country is not secular. When I say that police is not secular, it does not mean that there are no good officers and no good people. Exceptions are there. But, on the whole, they are insensitive and a kind of communal. So, this needs to be changed to improve the image of the Government with all good policies and with the best of leadership. If these organs of the State are not properly trained, then the Government will not be able to deliver. So, I would request the Government, especially the hon. Home Minister, to look into it and see that the Police Department is properly oriented to do what they are expected to do.

Sir, last but not the least, I would just refer to a point. Yes. It is education, that needs to be given the most favourable treatment and should also be given more money. But, have you ever thought of what kind of education should be given? I would just refer to Kothari Commission's Report and even before that late President, respected Dr. Zakir Hussain, who, in his last days, said, "Gandhiji asked me to give a new system of education — basic education/ Nai Talim — to Independent India. I tried my best. But, unfortunately, we could not succeed." Still the same education, with some kind of reforms, is continuing which Lord Macaulay imposed on India and wanted some kind of 'Brown Sahibs' to come up. I am sorry to say that Gandhiji's dream of a new India based on a new education system is still not realised and let us give a thought to change the whole education system to suit the changing India. Thank you. Jai Jagat.

SHRI URKHAO GWARA BRAHMA (Assam): Thank you, Sir.

The time has come to think about the development and progress of small administrative units existing in India under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Sir, under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, we have three districts in Assam, namely, Karbianglong, North Cachchar Hills and Bodo Territorial Area. The development there is not at par with other parts of the country. Since the creation of Karbianglong and NC Hills fifty years ago and in these fifty years of creation of these district councils, many of the villages and areas have not seen the power, not seen the roads and even the basic amenities like hospitals and schools do not exist there. The reason is, funds given to those areas are not adequate. Recently, the Government of Assam's Budget shows that hardly Rs. 70 to 75 crores has been given to the Karbianglong and North Cachchar Hills. Bodo Land Territorial Area comprised of four districts. We have 29-lakh population there. The Budget amount is only Rs. 150 crores, which is not adequate to meet the problems and challenges in those areas. So, my submission is, some special Budget provision has to be made to strengthen those areas and to enhance the amount given to three district councils so that development can take place.

Special Budget provision has to be made, with special allocation and special earmarking, by the Government of India to provide adequate amount for a sustainable development and, to bring about a sustainable development in education sector, health sector, and on all fronts, this is my submission.

Secondly, so far as power sector is concerned, this Budget speaks many things about development of power in the country to generate adequate power. I must recall, in 2005, the hon. Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, had gone to a tiny area, namely, Kokrajhar, in Assam, which is to headquarters of the present Bodoland Territorial Council. He had laid down the foundation stone of a 750 MW power station. That power station was supposed to be established by the NTPC. But, even after three years, we have not seen any development in this regard. No work has yet started. The present status of that 750 MW power project has not been made clear in the Budget. So, I would like to request the hon. Minister to make it clear and let us know about the Government's plan as to when this mega project is likely to be started and what the stipulated timeframe for completion of this project is. In the foundation-laying ceremony the Prime Minister had declared that the work would be started within five years' time. Three years have already gone.

Now, I come to the flood problem of the State. Flood is a chronic problem of Assam. For the last 40-50 years, the people of Assam have been suffering from flood disaster. Major forest areas, the Manas National Park, the 31C National Highway, and the 52 National Highway have frequently been affected by the floods. Adequate initiatives to tackle the flood problems have never been taken. This Budget also totally fails to address this issue. Frequent floods have caused agricultural damage, unemployment, downward economic growth among farmers and large-scale displacement of population. Last year, there was a breach in the Narengiri Bundh, near Manas National Park. It is along the Indo-Bhutan border. Because of a breach in that bundh about 50,000 people had become homeless. Rivers, like, Sonkosh, Saralbhanga, Aie Manas, Pagladia, Putimari and Dhansiri—all originating from Bhutan and China—have become 'sorrow of Assam'. I demand a time-bound policy to control these rivers. We are talking about development, growth and modernisation of our area, but the question arises whether we will be able to survive in our own areas or not. A flood is a natural disaster. But we must have a policy to save human beings.

Now, I come to higher education. In this Budget, there is a proposal for setting up a Tribal University. But one such university is not sufficient. All the North-Eastern States are dominated by the tribal people. The majority of people are tribal there. But a policy for Tribal University has not been evolved for the North-East. Though 16 Central Universities have been proposed. But not even a single university has been proposed for Assam. Here, I would like to recall one national commitment. In 2003, the historic Bodo Accord was signed between the Government of India, Government of Assam and the Bodo leaders. In that accord, one clause was incorporated that a Centrally-funded university would be set up in the Bodoland area. In this Budget, you have proposed 16 central universities, but, no university is proposed for the Bodoland area. So, I demand reconsideration of this proposal. There should be, at least, one Central university in the Bodoland area also.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I now come to the Backward Region Grant Fund. Sir, I belong to the Bodoland Territorial area and it comprises four districts. out of these four districts, only one district has been included in the list of backward regions. But, all the four districts are backward. This point should be taken into account and special initiative for their development has to be taken up by the Government so that sustainable and equitable development can take place there. So, I demand for inclusion of all these four districts in the list of backward region districts.

Sir, these days, thousands of people are camping in Delhi. And the reason is that thousands of teachers are not getting salaries because of paucity of funds. Many schools are not provincialised. They are not being taken care of by the Government of Assam. They are staging a demonstration at the Boat club, and at Jantar Mantar. Their main demand is that the Government should look into their issues; provincialisation of schools and regularisation of teachers salaries. Teachers are dying. They are committing suicide. Incidents of suicide are taking place there. Just like some farmers are committing suicide, similarly, teachers are also committing suicides in Assam. What is the solution for this? This is the prime question now. I would like to know whether there is anybody to take care of their problems. This is the main question. Unless we provide adequate salaries to teachers, adequate budgetary provision and facilities to the educational sector, we cannot dream of modern India. The tribal people will lag behind. That is why, my request, my special request is this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI URKHAO GWARA BRAHMA: We are talking about the Knowledge Commission and the Knowledge Network. We are trying to build up a knowledge society in India. Unless we strengthen the education sector and give proper salaries to the teachers, building up of a knowledge society will never become true.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI URKHAO GWARA BRAHMA: Sir, I do not want to prolong my speech. With these few words, I will just urge upon the hon. Finance Minister to look into all these points which I have raised. I hope that adequate justice will be done by the Government of India. Thank you.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI (Maharashtra): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. Sir, you might recall that ten days back, the circumstances so contrived that I could not speak during the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. You had very kindly suggested that I could use today's opportunity for referring to some of the points; not all. There were two points which I find are common between the Budget Speech and the President's Address so much so that they could almost be considered as cut and paste jobs. In the first eight pages of the President's Address, the word, 'inclusive' comes 22 times. That is very significant. It is important because it forms the cornerstone and the centre-piece of the policy of the UPA Government.

Secondly, there is a whole list of certain projects which are considered to be part of the infrastructure of inclusive development which were listed by the President, and which have been repeated in the Budget Speech by the Finance Minister also. I would like to point out that there is something lacking in this inclusive infrastructure. Sir, the SC and ST sub-plan since 2004 has shown a backlog of 71 per cent. So, whatever inclusiveness there be it, certainly, does not include the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Communities.

Similarly, the farmers have been excluded uptill today and whatever we have got this time by way of loan waiver, I am going to point out later on, is a highly inimical action to the community of farmers as a whole. Therefore, the Budget is exclusivist; it is not a part of the inclusive infrastructure, and it is also illusive. My friend, hon. Shri Arun shourie pointed out that from year to year to Finance Minister jumps from one attractive phrase to another attractive phrase. One year he would talk of the food stamps and the second year he would

jump on to the expression of the smart cards. Now, the similar thing has happened. Last year, Sir, he opened his Budget speech by declaring a ban on the futures market of agricultural commodities. I didn't really expect him to make any declaration of the lifting of the ban, but he could have, certainly, given an account as to what was happening, why is it that we were continuing with the futures market ban and when is it that the futures market ban, particularly, on wheat and paddy would be lifted. particularly, because, the ban on the futures marketing in wheat and paddy resulted in a loss of something like Rs. 8,000 crores, because we had to import wheat at a price of Rs. 1600/- per quintal. There is a very good phrase that the hon. Finance Minister used. What he said was that the debt waiver scheme was a token of gratitude towards the farmers who have made their own contribution to Indian agriculture and to the Indian economy. I would like to point out some of the things for which we owe a debt of gratitude to the Indian farmers. Sir, since the days of Independence, from 1948 to 1965, was the era of food shortages and this was the era in which the Government of India and the State Governments imposed a compulsory levy on food. If the farmer had not grown the food in his own farm, then he was required to purchase the food from the market, even though at a higher price, and deliver it to the Government at a lower price. this was the kind of sacrifice that the farmers accepted in the first 15 years of Independence. Starting from 1968 to 1985 was the era where the Government followed deliberate policies of depressing agricultural prices with the result that the farmers found that the cost of production was not covered by the prices that he obtained. Later on, Sir, we had an epoch in which there was a favour shown to the synthetic fibre cloth as against the cotton, and now we have this Government which imports wheat from abroad at a price which is, practically, double the price which is paid to the Indian farmers. So, these are the kind of contributions that the farmers have made. That shows that the efforts that the farmers made for making country self-sufficient in food was an integral effort, and, therefore, the indebtedness that they incurred during their effort was also an integral entity. You cannot make a distinction. Now, I am sorry that the loan waiver scheme makes a distinction between different types of borrowers, different types of lenders and different types of loans. Sir, the difference between the small and the marginal farmers and the large holders ceased to exist long back. Firstly, the limit of two hectares was fixed so long ago when there was no comparison between irrigated two hectares and unirrigated two hectares. Similarly, Sir, for example in Bundelkhand, somebody who holds 12 acres of land, where not a blade of grass grows, cannot be compared with 5 acres held by somebody in Punjab, or, in Maharashtra, Similarly, Sir, the marginal farmer who holds only 25 to 5 acres of land represents more a family situation than an economic situation. If the father, or, grandfather goes on subdividing the land between his progeny, then, a holding of 300 acres very quickly comes to just about 5 acres. The fact that he is a small holder does not represent his economic situation; that represents his family situation. Similarly, Sir, a farmer who borrows money from the bank and in order to be able to repay that loan, he goes to the private money lender, takes money from him and repays to the bank.

Now, at a given time, on a particular date, whether he is found owing to the formal sector bank or to the private moneylender, is a matter, entirely, of accident. Therefore, to make distinction between the small holder and the marginal holder, to make a distinction between loans from large banks and the money lent by the moneylenders, etc., and, to make a distinction between the long-term loans and the short-term loans, is entirely misplaced because the effort that the farmers made was an integral effort. And, therefore, what the farmers' organisations have been demanding was that all the debts of the farmers are illegal and immoral. Since we have the Home Minister sitting here, I would repeat that all the loans are

6.00 PM

illegal because under the Contract Act, if a party to the contract frustrates performance of the contract of the other side, then the contract becomes void. Here, in this case, the Government gave the farmers the loans and through the anti-farmer price-depressing measures it ensured that the farmers were unable to repay the loans, and, therefore, under the law all the farmers' debts are void.

Secondly, Sir, they are also immoral for the simple reason that the farmers owe to the Government something like three hundred thousand crores of rupees according to the WTO statistics because of the negative subsidies that have been imposed on the farmer. Compared with that, the estimate given by the Radhakrishna Committee of a total indebtedness of 1.30 lakhs of crores of rupees is insignificant. It is not the farmers who owe money to the Government. In fact, it is the Government which owe more money to the farmers, and all this philosophy should have been taken into account by people who propose the loan-waiver scheme. I am sorry to say, according to my information, a sugar baron from Ahmednagar district which is relatively a rich district was asked to sculpt the waivers' scheme, and we see the consequences. There have been debates about what is wrong the what is right. I have pointed out three things that any scheme which differentiates between different borrowers, different lenders and different types of loans, is bad *ab initio*. Sir, the farmers have started reacting. Till yesterday, we did not have figures. If I were to speak yesterday, I would not have had these figures ready at hand, but today, we have the figures. Thirty-four farmers from Maharashtra have committed suicides after the 29th of February, out of which 26 farmers are from Vidarbha for very simple reasons. Sir, there are two reasons. When you are trying to favour a small and marginal farmer, the farmer who really gets the benefit is the pomegranate farmer and the grape farmers of Western Maharashtra whom the Government has tried to favour as against the Vidarbha farmer where traditionally the land holdings have been large and, therefore, very few farmers have got any benefit at all. ...*(Time-bell)*...

Sir, I will take just one more minute. Secondly, Sir, in Vidarbha, the farmers follow the practice of going on purchasing on credit from the provision stores, from the cloth stores, etc., and when the cotton is sold they generally repay the amount. If that is the system, then he is not really a moneylender. He is only a shopkeeper who provides credit to the farmers, and if today, because of the kind of language that has been used by the Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra and the Minister for Agriculture in the Centre, the farmers are asked to drive away the private moneylenders, beat them up etc., then the farmers will lose this last source of credit and they will be again driven to suicide which is already happening.

Sir, I would like to make only one last point before closing down. The one thing that should have been done when the loan-waiver scheme is announced is this. The question that is asked is, are we going to repeat this kind of a loan-waiver exercise every five or ten years? Obviously, that kind of an exercise would not be necessary if the Government followed policies of abstaining from the commodity market and allowing the farmers to get prices that prevailed in a hypothetically free market as defined by the WTO. Unfortunately, last year, the Finance Minister announced a ban on the future's commodity market. This year the ban has not been lifted. To worsen matters further, Sir, this year, the Finance Minister has imposed a Commodity Tax on all transactions in the commodity futures. And this tax is very heavy. Formerly, if cost of one transaction on the commodity exchange was Rs. 3, now it is going to be Rs. 19.65. If that is so, it is quite clear that the intention of the Government, or the intention of the Finance Minister, is to kill the futures market which is just a nascent market. This is happening when they haven't even got hold of the report of the Abhijit Sen Committee,

which was appointed to study the impact on prices of the futures market. This is an entirely unstudied decision. No stakeholders were consulted and this would result in the flourishing — not that it would only kill the futures market - of what is called, the Dabba Futures Market, the black-marketeers and the gangsters and that would destroy the real, healthy futures market. I would say that the entire plan of action given by the Budget was inimical to the farmers and it is not likely to help the Indian economy at all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Abani Roy, Mr. Pasha has requested that he may be permitted to speak for two minutes. If you allow him, he would like to speak first.

SHRI ABANI ROY: Sir, if it is just two minutes, I have no objection. But if it is twenty minutes, then...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will have to conclude soon because he has to leave for the airport.

SHRI SYED AZEEZ PASHA (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman. I must also thank Mr. Abani Roy for giving me this opportunity.

Sir, my colleague, comrade D. Raja, has already explained the position of our Party with regard to the Budget. I would like to supplement on certain issues about which he has not spoken. Even though the loan waiver is a really welcome step, as it would cover about three crores of people, if you look at the other aspect of it, those who have already paid the dues, are placed at a very disadvantageous position. Even though we are calling it a one-time settlement, what is going to happen in the future? Once again, this loan and other things would become a very acute problem for them. Actually, the crux of the problem lies somewhere else. We have to address rural distress and the agrarian crisis if we really wish to come out of this crisis. But I want to ask one thing. How can we justify it? The productivity of the farmers has increased up to 84 per cent but, unfortunately, their wages have come down by 20 per cent. When we talk about the agrarian sector and point out all these things, we are told that they are trying to rectify the situation. Three thousand rural banks are being abolished. I do not know whether we are really doing a good service to the rural people.

Sir, the 62nd survey of NSSO, 2005-06, tells us that around 19 per cent of Indians living in the rural areas belong to households with a capacity to spend not more than twelve rupees a day per person. In towns and cities, the figure is Rs. 19. Sir, the Common Minimum Programme talked about a target of two to three per cent of the GDP to be spent on health, but, unfortunately, we have not crossed the limit of even one per cent. In regard to education also, even though the amount is very much hiked, it comes to around three per cent, although the CMP talked in terms of spending six per cent of the GDP on education. Sir, everybody has welcome NREGA. We also welcome it. But certain discrepancies pointed out by the CAG need to be looked into. They have pointed out that in 282 Gram Panchayats in 21 States dated receipts of application for demand of work were not given. They have cited another 343 Gram Panchayats where proper employment registers were not being maintained. I would rather request the Government to look into all these discrepancies and rectify them.

Sir, food security has not been given priority. Even though the Swaminathan Committee Report has said that if we spend one per cent of the GDP on food security, 85 per cent of the population can be covered, here, there is no mention of food security by the Finance Minister. I don't know whether prices are going to come down or inflationary trends will pick up. So, today, if you see the market, the rates of all the essential commodities are very much high

and it is beyong the capacity of common man to make both ends meet. So, this is also one of the important things which the Finance Minister is supposed to see.

Sir, this Budget has provided a very paltry sum, nearly 3.05 per cent, to SC/STs who constitute 24.4 per cent; and minorities are also given a very negligible amount who constitute 18.4 per cent, but the amount provided is only 0.13 per cent. Even though the Finance Minister talked about Sachar Committee and its recommendations, but I don't think it is backed by proper allocation.

Sir, before coming to the last point, I would like to mention about NPA, which has accumulated to the tune of Rs. 1,50,000 crore. When the bigwigs are taking loan, you are just stating as the bad loan and name it as Non-performing Asset. But the same treatment is not meted out to ordinary persons if they are taking loan from banks. This NPs is a very serious issue. So, this issue has to be seriously tackled by the Government.

Sir, the present Government and the previous Government, NDA, and their policies, unfortunately, did not improve the living conditions of the people. If you see the UNDP Report, our human index has gone up from 126 to 128. It is really very unfortunate. If you see the poor countries in Africa and Latin American countries, you will find that their human index figure is high. Even in Asian countires, Mongolia, which is really a poor country, has improved from 160 to 140. In Asia, you see the war-ravaged country like Vietnam. It is placed on 105. Our neighbouring country, Sri Lanka, is on 99. It means that we are not making overall improvement in our conditions and that is why our living index is going down. But some persons are boasting that we are having in the Fortune 100 list; we are ahead of Japan; we are having five lakh *crorepatis* and the richest man in the world belongs to India whose income is growing Rs. 30 lakh per minute. But there are 84 crore people and they are not having even Rs. 19 to spend on the daily livelihood. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: After the fall of index, it has come down.

SHRI SYED AZEEZ PASHA: This is a wide disparity and this wide disparity has to be tackled very seriously through proper policies. This is my submission. Thank you.

SHRI ABANI ROY: Thank you, Sir, for giving me time. On the question of this Budget, so many people have said so many things. I think many of the hon. members have pointed out in such a way that either the allocation is not good or it should be more. Some people said that it is not a Budget in that sense; it is a Budget for the elections. Somebody was saying that it is a Dream Budget, and so many things are there, but I don't want to speak on that whether it is a Dream or Election Budget. Whatever it might be, I think they want to satisfy the poor sections or other sections of people. But it is very difficult to satisfy them. Those, who are supporting this Government from outside — and this is nearly their last Budget — expected that this Government will follow the NCMP, and I am very much surprised when the inside supporters of the UPA Government including the Congress are now not thinking of the NCMP at all.

On the education, NCMP mentions something else and whatever they have given, that is not even half of that. In Health sector, same thing is there. In other sectors also, hon. Finance Minister knows it well and those who are supporting from the Congress side, I do not know why they are supporting this Budget when the NCMP, the basic document of UPA Government, is not being followed. This is their last Budget. Sir, we have been taking every time regarding violation of NCMP. Once against, I have to say that the basic document on

which this Government is running, that is, NCMP, is being violated. Apart from that, they are shouting much about Rs. 60,000 crore loan which they have waived, which is not correct. They are not waiving loans. They are waiving the outstanding overdues which do not mean full loan. They are only waiving the balance left. I think it should be clarified by the hon. Finance Minister that he is not waiving the entire loan of the farmers, but only the outstanding overdues which might be less. If that be the case, from where, he has got this figure of Rs. 60,000 crore. He has also to declare that. He has said that this benfit is for the farmers having less than two hecatres of land. Whatever it may be, he has to clarify from where this figure has been arrived at. We must say that this is not the entire loan that has been waived. That is a wrong thing that is going on. Second question is regarding the loan and the type of land. I think, the Finance Minister knows about the loan and amount of money involved. But, what about the land? There are certain lands where two hectares can give much. There are certain lands where even five hectares cannot give much. So, who will determine about the land, what type of land is there, or what type of production is there? And, why is there this question of waiver of loans? First, we have to see as to why farmers are taking loans. So, if we do not go into the basic problem, just giving loan waiver or packages won't help farmers either from suicide or from taking loans. This Government has silently sidelined the issue of NPA that we have raised here. Big industrialists and big businessmen take big loans from the banks and never return it. And, there is no noise about the fact that they have waived Rs. 1,80,000 crores of loans of the industrialists. That is not there because they have done it very silently. But, on the question of farmers, they are shouting too much that they are giving Rs. 60,000 crores. I think, even if they give Rs. 6,00,000 crores, they cannot satisfy farmers in that sense. They need much more. Now, the question is as to what they have to do today. They have to make such arrangements that farmers should not take any loan in future. Such programmes are not there.

Then, on the question of education, we have increased the allocation as compared to the last year. But, it has not been raised according to NCMP, but only as compared to the last year, knowing fully well that there are no primary school buidlings. Further, there is need to make more provision for Mid-Day Meal Scheme. How will students come to school and where will they study? How will they come and how will they purchase the books? These things are not there in the Budget. Only increasing the allocation from Rs. 3,000 crores last year to Rs. 3,100 crore this year will not help betterment of education.

Similarly, for health, there are no primary centres and other things. Now, the UPA Government should not go by the saying, "राजा कर्णाभ्याम् पश्यति" राजा कान से देखते हैं। जरा आंख से देखा करें कि देश की क्या हालत है। आम आदमी के पास वोट लेने के लिए जाना है, इसलिए आम आदमी के बारे में बहुत कुछ बोला जा रहा है। That is not the correct thing. I do not know whether that is there in the Budget; whether this will be implemented or not. देखा जाए, तो 6 महीने की बात है। दूसरी बात यह है कि जो एम्पलॉइमेंट गारंटी एक्ट है, जब यह लागू हुआ था, तब बोला था कि हमने बड़ी कमाल की चीज कर दी है, जिसको किसी ने नहीं किया। जो अंदर छिपी हुई बात है कि जो पहले था, उसमें से हमने बहुत सारे पैसे निकाल दिए और उसी के पैसे इसमें डाल दिए। So, I do not know why transparency or honesty is not there and what you are doing is not going to the people. चाहे वह इंदिरा आवास हो, चाहे वह सड़क योजना हो या कोई और योजना हो। हमने उसके अंदर क्या-क्या गोल कर दिया। यह गलत बात है कि देश के सामने बजट रखते समय जिस तरह की स्पीच देते हैं, लेकिन स्पीच में और असलियत में बड़ा फर्क है। उसको भी कहना चाहिए हमने इसके साथ-साथ यह बंद कर दिया। Government is very much interesed. हम इनको कहते हैं कि नौकरी से कैसे हटाया जाए, कैसे नौकरी को छोटा किया जाए, कैसे VRS दिया जाए, कैसे मर्जर किया जाए, in the financial sector; that is

continuously going on. On the other hand, नौकरियां खत्म होती जा रही हैं। ग्लोबलाइज़ेशन में एक चीज बताई जाती है कि हमारे यहां जो भुखमरी है, इलिट्रेसी है, हमारे यहां स्वास्थ्य के बारे में, जो malnutrition लोग हैं, उनके बारे में कोई नहीं बोलता है। we are not thinking for the majority of the people. The motto of a democratic country should be to look after the majority of the people, not the majority of the ruling party. It should be for the majority of the people at large. Lastly, I am telling, सरकार की बहुत सारी बातें हुई हैं, इसलिए मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं। ग्लोबलाइजेशन के दौरान एक नया फार्मूला और इसमें आ गया है, वह है, PPP जब देखा कि पब्लिक सैक्टर काम नहीं कर रहा है, तो प्राइवेट और पब्लिक पार्टनरशिप में करेंगे। यह तो अच्छी बात है। यह कह रहे हैं या नहीं कह रहे हैं Private-Public Partnership जो असलियत है, जो आप PSUs और डिसइंवेस्टमैंट के बारे में सोच रहे हैं। This PPP means privatising of the public properties. You should leave that idea. Please do not say that public property should be privatised. You leave that idea. You think for the real public properties, that is, the Government properties, and, think of the people. That would be better. I think, then you can say that India is great, or भारत महान है। Otherwise भारत महान बोलने से नहीं होगा, कुछ आदमी महान हो सकते हैं, कुछ संख्यक हो सकते हैं, उसके लिए पूरे भारत का नाम ना लिया जाए। जब भारत का नाम लिया जाए, एक तो shining करके downing हो गया आप महान करते-करते, पता नहीं कहां जाएंगे। *This is the time to change the system; this is the time* to change the society. so, think for the poorer sections of the society and prove something *with your deeds and not by your words.*

श्री उपसभापति: बाजवा जी, आपके पांच मिनट हैं। अभी यहां पर जितने बैठे हैं, सब बोलने वाले ही हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... एक-एक बोलेंगे और आपको ...(व्यवधान)... मैंने बताया है कि जो यहां बैठे हैं, सब बोलने वाले बैठे हैं।

श्री टी॰एस॰ बाजवा (जम्मू और कश्मीर): उपसभापति जी, मुझे आपने जनरल बजट वर्ष 2008-09 पर बोलने का समय दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभार प्रकट करता हूं और मैं इसके समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूं कि किसानों के संबंध में एक ऐतिहासिक कदम उठाया गया है और उनके 60 हजार के कर्जे माफ किए गए हैं। इस बजट में विशेषतौर पर किसान से लेकर गरीब, मजदूर, शैडयूल्ड कास्ट, शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स, ओबीसी और माइनोरिटीज आदि सब वर्गों का विशेष ध्यान रखा गया है। हमारा जो देश है यह कृषि प्रधान देश है। इस देश में हमारी जनसंख्या का कम से कम सत्तर फीसदी कृषि क्षेत्र पर निर्भर करता है। यह जो ऐतिहासिक कदम यू॰पी॰ए॰ सरकार की ओर से उठाया गया है, यह बहुत बड़ा कदम है। सर, मुझे याद है लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी इस देश के प्रधानमंत्री थे। उस वक्त हमारे देश में एक हरित क्रांति लाई गई थी और अब दोबारा इस देश में उसी पैटर्न पर काम किया जा रहा है। इस हाउस में चर्चा हो रही है। इससे पहले भी जब वित्त मंत्रालय या कृषि विभाग का सवाल होता था, तो यही कहा जाता था कि किसानों के कर्जे के बारे में तय किया जा रहा है, किसानों के कर्जे माफ कर दिए। आज जब किसानों के कर्जे माफ किए जा रहे हैं तो इसे दूसरे ढंग से लिया जा रहा है। हमने जनता में दूसरे ढंग से जाकर देखा है । हर जगह इसकी चर्चा हो रही है कि यू॰पी॰ए॰ सरकार पहली सरकार है, जिसने किसानों पर इतना एहसान किया है। मुझे याद है जब इस देश के प्रधानमंत्री माननीय वी॰पी॰ सिंह जी थे और देवी लाल जी उप प्रधानमंत्री थे। उस वक्त भी कर्जे माफी की घोषणा हुई थी। उस वक्त यह हुआ था — सर, मैं यह बात इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि कहीं फिर से हमारे किसानों के साथ धोखा न हो जाए, उस वक्त भी ऐसा हुआ था कि जब कर्जे माफ किए गए थे, अनाउंसमैंट की गई थी और किसान बहुत खुश हुए थे, तो जो कर्जे माफ किए गए थे, वे जो डिफाल्टर किसान थे, उनके कर्जे माफ किए गए थे, जो किसान नया-पुराना करते रहते थे, उनके कर्जे माफ नहीं किए गए थे। आज बीस साल से वे किसान परेशान हैं। मुझे याद है जब देवेगौड़ा जी इस देश के प्रधान मंत्री थे। उन्होंने जम्मू-कश्मीर में इसी प्रकार की घोषणा पचास-पचास हजार रुपए तक माफ करने की थी। जब पॉलिसी बनाई गई थी तो उसमें बहुत से किसान छूट गए थे। आज जो किसान हैं, वे कोर्ट के चक्कर काट रहे हैं । अब ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। जो दो हैक्टेयर जमीन की पॉलिसी बनाई गई है, उसमें इरिगेडिट और अनइरिगेटिड लैंड होना चाहिए। हमारे देश में टोटल इरिगेटिड लैंड 42 परसेंट है और 58 परसेंट जमीन अनइरिगेटिड है। ऐसी पॉलिसी बनानी चाहिए, जिसमें इरिगेटिड और अनइरिगेटिड लैंड होना चाहिए। सर, मैं जम्मू-कश्मीर से हूं। जम्मू-कश्मीर का नाम भारत में सबसे पहले आता है। आज से पंद्रह-बीस साल पहले के जम्मू-कश्मीर के हालात हम सभी जानते हैं। मैं इसके लिए यू॰पी॰ए॰, एन॰डी॰ए॰ और हमारे

देश की जितनी भी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं, उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूं, जिन्होंने जम्मू-कश्मीर को पूरी सपोर्ट दी और पूरा समर्थन दिया। आज जम्मू-कश्मीर अच्छी जगह जा रहा है और जम्मू-कश्मीर में मिलिटेंसी डिक्लाइन हो रही है, इनफिल्ट्रेशन भी कम हो रहा है। लेकिन एक बात है कि यहां किसानों के कर्जे की जो बात कही गई है, उसमें मैं देख रहा था कि हमारा जम्मू-कश्मीर तीसरे नंबर पर है। एरिया के हिसाब से देखें तो पहले राजस्थान, फिर यू०पी० और उसके बाद हमारा जम्मू-कश्मीर आता है। इसका 2,22,336 वर्ग किलोमीटर एरिया है। हम किसानों की बात कर रहे हैं। हमारे जम्मू-कश्मीर में बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जो बड़े-बड़े पहाड़ों पर रहते हैं, जो भेड़-बकरियां पालने का काम करते हैं, गाय-बैस पालने का काम करते हैं, लेकिन उनका इसमें कहीं जिक्र नहीं है। उन्होंने भी कर्जे ले रखे हैं। मैं विशेष तौर पर कहना चाहूंगा कि सरकार ने जो पॉलिसी बनाई है, उसमें इन लोगों को भी एडजस्ट करने का काम करना चाहिए। एक तरफ हम किसानों के कर्जे माफ कर रहे हैं, दूसरी तरफ हमारा जम्मू-कश्मीर का जो किसान है — आप जानते हैं कि जम्मू-कश्मीर में मिलिटेंसी बीस साल से है और इनफिल्ट्रेशन रोकने के लिए पूरे जम्मू-कश्मीर के बॉर्डर पर फैंसिंग लगाई गई है, मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है, मैंने हाउस में बहुत बार यह प्रश्न रेज किया है कि वहां छह साल से फैंसिंग लगी हुई है, परंतु वहां के किसानों को एक नया पैसा नहीं मिला है। सरकार ने फैंसिंग के लिए जो जमीन एक्वायर की है, चाहे बी०एस०एफ० ने की हो या आर्मी वालों ने की हो, आज तक उनको एक पैसे का कम्पेनसेशन नहीं दिया गया है। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां पर पूरे देश के किसानों को हीलिंग टच दे रहे हैं, जम्मू-कश्मीर के किसानों को भी फौरी तौर पर सहायता दें। जम्मू-कश्मीर का जो किसान है — चाहे आर्मी या बी०एस०एफ० का जवान हो, हम उसे वहां बॉर्डर पर तैनात करते हैं तो कम से कम बीस से पच्चीस हजार रुपए तक का एक जवान पर खर्च आता है। हमारे जम्मू-कश्मीर का जो किसान है, वह बिना पैसे के वहां एक दीवार का काम कर रहा है। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ इस हाउस में कहना पड़ता है कि 6 साल से उनकी जो जमीन fencing में आई है, उसके लिए अभी तक उनको एक नया पैसा नहीं दिया गया। सर, इसी तरह 1971 की लड़ाई के बाद वहां बंकर बनाए गए, कहीं पर डिच बनाए गए, कहीं पर बांध बनाए गए, लेकिन मुझे यह भी बहुत अफसोस से कहना पड़ता है कि आज दिन तक उन किसानों को मुआवजा नहीं मिला है।

इसलिए मैं यह बात कहना चाहूंगा कि हम ग्लोबलाइजेशन की बात करते हैं, ग्लोबल ट्रेड की बात करते हैं, मैं देख रहा था कि जब हम यह कहते हैं कि हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है, तो मुझे इस बात की बड़ी हैरानगी होती है, जब हम अपने देश की प्रोडक्शन को देखते हैं। यह अच्छी बात है कि यूपीए सरकार ने बहुत सी योजनाएं शुरू की हैं, जैसे भारत निर्माण है, नेशनल फूड सिक्योरिटी मिशन है, इस तरह की और भी बहुत सी स्कीमें चलाई जा रही हैं, जिनसे किसानों को इसका direct फायदा होगा। सर, लेकिन मैं देख रहा था कि हमारी एक हेक्टेयर का जो प्रोडक्शन है, जो हमारा इकोनॉमिक सर्वे आया है, उसमें व्हीट का आस्ट्रेलिया का 1.64, चीन का 4.25, फ्रांस का 7.58 और इंडिया का 2.71 है, जबकि ईरान का 2.6 और यूके का 7.77 और यूके की जो yield है, प्रोडक्शन है, हमसे तीन गुना ज्यादा है। इसी तरह से राइस का प्रोडक्शन है। यूएसए का 7.83, थाईलैंड का 2.63, कोरिया का 6.73, जापान का 6.42 और हमारे देश का 2.9 है। सर, यह उससे भी कम है। (समय की घंटी) सर, एक मिनट और दीजिए।

सर, मैं विशेष तौर पर जम्मू कश्मीर से हूं, जब मैं इस हाउस में नया-नया चुन कर आया, तो सब लोग यही कहते थे कि आप पंजाब से हैं। जब हमारे यहां के माननीय सदस्यों को पता चला कि मैं जम्मू-कश्मीर से हूं, तो हर कोई यह पूछता था कि बताइए, जम्मू-कश्मीर के हालात कैसे हैं। सर, हमने जम्मू-कश्मीर को बहुत नजदीक से देखा है और आज मुझे खुशी है, चाहे वह एनडीए की सरकार रही हो या यूपीए की सरकार रही हो, जम्मू-कश्मीर अमन की तरफ जा रहा है। लेकिन मैं इसमें एक बात कहना चाहूंगा कि हम जम्मू-कश्मीर से जो रास्ते खोल रहे हैं, चाहे वह कश्मीर से मुजफ्फराबाद के लिए हो या पुंछ से रावलकोट के लिए हो, उसमें ट्रेड होना चाहिए। वह जो रास्ता खोला है, इससे वहां हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का आपस में जो रिलेशन है, उसमें काफी सुधार आया है, लेकिन वह डिवाइडेड फैमिली तक नहीं रहना चाहिए। सर, मैं हाउस को यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी कम-से-कम 50 हजार फैमिलीज़ थीं, जो उस वक्त Pak Occupied Kashmir से आई थीं और इसी तरह जो वेस्ट पाकिस्तान से आकर जम्मू-कश्मीर में बसे हैं, उनको वहां पर re-settle किया गया। सर, वे चाहते हैं कि जहां वे पैदा हुए हैं, वे अपना बर्थ प्लेस देखना चाहते हैं। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि जिस वक्त वहां हमारे आने-जाने का रास्ता खोला गया, तो हमारे कश्मीर की जो समस्या थी, वह आधी उसी वक्त हल हो गई थी। अगर आप इसको डिवाइडेड फैमिली तक नहीं रहने देंगे, वहां

से जितने भी परिवार आए हैं, अगर सरकार उनको आने-जाने के लिए allow करे, तो मैं समझता हूं कि जम्मू-कश्मीर की जो समस्या है, वह हल हो जाएगी। मैं इस सदन में बड़े यकीन के साथ कहता हूं कि जैसे पंजाब में अमन और शांति हुई है, इसी तरह जम्मू-कश्मीर में भी आने वाले दिनों में अमन और शांति होगी। आज से 5 साल पहले जम्मू-कश्मीर में पीडीपी और कांग्रेस की गठबंधन सरकार बनाई गई और माननीय मुफ्ती साहब पहले तीन साल मुख्य मंत्री रहे, अब गुलाम नबी आज़ाद साहब जम्मू-कश्मीर के मुख्य मंत्री हैं। आज मुझे खुशी होती है कि हमारे जम्मू-कश्मीर में एक जमाना था, खास कर जो हमारे कश्मीर के लोग थे, उन्होंने घड़ियों के टाइम में चेंज किया हुआ था, लेकिन आज मुझे खुशी है कि उस वक्त जो भी नौजवान मेनस्ट्रीम से बाहर गया था, आज सब लोग वहां मेनस्ट्रीम में आना चाहते हैं। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि इस बजट में जम्मू-कश्मीर के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया। रकबे के लिहाज से जम्मू-कश्मीर का एरिया तीसरे नम्बर पर है। इसमें जो सेंट्रल फंडिंग होती है, आपके माध्यम से सरकार से मेरा अनुरोध है कि जम्मू-कश्मीर के लिए जो फंडिंग दी जाती है, वह एरिया के हिसाब से होनी चाहिए। जिस प्रकार हमारे नॉर्थ-ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स हैं, वहां हर मंत्रालय को 10 फीसदी खर्च करना होता है, उसी प्रकार हमारे जम्मू-कश्मीर के लिए भी सरकार को ऐसी योजना बनानी चाहिए।

सर, आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए समय दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका बहुत-बहुत आभार व्यक्त करता हूं। शुक्रिया। जय हिन्द।

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK (Orissa): Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak. I hope that I am the last speaker.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are not the last one. You are the last speaker from the Congress Party.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, there are two or three names more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the Members are there, I will call them.

DR. RADHAKANT NAYAK: Sir, at the outset, I will congratulate the UPA Government, the Prime Minister, and, specifically, the UPA Chairperson, for having given to us and to this nation an excellent Budget, a Budget which is very progressive, which is forward looking, which is very dynamic and which has a very effective and a very powerful engine for growth in this country. That is why the Government deserves to be congratulated. Therefore, I support the budgetary provisions. And I also acclaim that this Budget will definitely usher in a new vision for this country. I would highlight only a few points by way of a reminder to my own Government.

Sir, this Budget is the first Budget of the Eleventh Plan and it speaks of 'inclusive growth'. The phrase 'inclusive growth' has been borrowed from the World Bank Document, but does not spell out, in detail, what exactly it means and what exactly it implies; whether it implies inclusion of the excluded persons. The Plan Document title "Towards faster and more Inclusive Growth" is okay, but the contents are not matching the title. It does not spell out whether the concept of 'inclusive growth' implies some social indicators or demographic elements; who should be included; whether it implies regional inclusion, where equality would pervade all over the country and whether every region, every area and every State will be equal to the other; whether this 'inclusive growth' would amount to the inclusion of schemes/programmes that could generate equality in the long run; and whether that would include the excluded regions or people or schemes or programmes.

Sir, it is said, and you are aware of it, that co-option is the best form of oppression and destruction. In this sense, it is said, "I manage and you participate." In other words, I am number one; I dictate and you have to be dictated. Does Government mean so? Is this meant by 'inclusion'? I have no idea. The Finance Minister should explain to us what exactly he

means by the concept, the processes, the intentions as well as the consequences of "inclusion."

Sir, having said that, I want to draw the attention of the Government to the Plan Document which speaks, specifically, of the people who are demographically oppressed or excluded for a long time as a process of the history which is well known. I just heard that. I will read it out to you what it means in terms of schemes/programmes. I just want to go into this document. Sir, it says, "the strategy of inclusive growth proposed in this Paper on Ten Command Broad-Based Support, only if growth is seen to demonstratively bridge the divides and avoid exclusion or marginalisation of a larger segments of our population". It has not defined what "the larger segment of population" is. But on page 86 it speaks of Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It speaks of two strategies: strategic policy initiative to secure overall development of the SCs and the STs; and to remove social, economic and educational disparities between them and the rest of the population. Following this, the 51st meeting of the National Development Council has also come out with a statement that within a period of ten years the disparity between the SCs and the STs and the general population will be bridged. Following this future, the Planning Commission in its full membership meeting has decided that every Ministry should provide funds for the SCs and the STs in proportion to their population in the country. Some of our colleagues have already mentioned what exactly is the matching provision of funding that has been made in conformity with these pronouncements. It is pointed out that this Budget provides only 1.56 per cent of the estimated Plan expenditure and when it is combined with non-Plan expenditure, the proportion comes to only 0.51 per cent. Where is the population, which is not less than 22 per cent, and where is this figure of 1.56 per cent if it is taken only Plan funds and 0.51 per cent if it is taken both Plan and non-Plan funds! Apart from this there is a clear breach of pronouncements made by the Finance Minister in his Budget Speech of 2004-05 which stated and I quote:

"The welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is close to my heart".

Similarly in his Budget Speech of 2005-06 he spoke and I quote:

"I wish to restate my commitment to inclusive economic growth.

It is important to bring the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes into the development process".

In similar vein, in his 2006-07 Budget Speech he stated and I quote:

"The Government is committed to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes".

In this Budget he does not specifically indicate as to what exactly he proposes to say for these unfortunate communities. My submission, therefore, would be that some kind of matching should be there between the pronouncements and implementation.

Sir, I have got quite a number of points to highlight. But being the last but one, I don't want to take more time of the House. I want to mention one or two points more in this connection. We are following a policy of globalisation. To me, it is not globalisation, but globalism. Persons like Joseph Stiglitz, the nobel laureate—I think his latest book is "Making Globalisation Work"—say that market lacks transparency; market leads to concentration of wealth in a few hands and market creates plutocracy. We have been critical of bureaucracy; but plutocracy is much worse than bureaucracy. At least, in bureaucracy, the bureaucrats

have certain kind of accountability and responsibility, but, in plutocracy, they are not responsible to anybody.

We are creating a new kind of globalism in succession to a particular philosophy which was imperialism. Today, we have succumbed to, what is called, internal colonialism or internal globalism in this country. My friends have already spoken about how the concentration of wealth in a few hands has led to the pauperisation of many. We are all aware that the poor people in this country give much more to the State than what they get in return. In this context, I am of the view that it is time to review certain aspects of the market economy which we have been blindly following. We have been blindly following growth without any equity perspective in our planning, in our performance and in our programming. My submission is that we should now turn to what was done in the past. We promulgated the Constitution in 1950. Sir, the Preamble itself speaks of Equality and Socialism. The entire basic structure of the Constitution in Parts III and IV, speaks of bringing in equity and social justice. Now, Sir, we have given them a go-buy without even amending the Constitution. This Budget is an indication that we have violated the constitutional principles of this country which our founding-fathers promulgated and they sacrificed a lot for a new kind of society, which we are giving up. The fallout is very serious. The fallout is that inequality is growing and poverty is increasing. Already the Sengupta Committee Report has stated that 77 per cent of the people are earning hardly Rs. 20/- a day; whereas, the number of millionaires and billionaires is increasing. But growth without equity, that too reckless and mindless growth, will be disastrous for this country. Sir, what is happening on the ground? The number of Naxalites is on the increase. Who are they? They are the poorest of the poor who are getting recruited in that sector. This is what is. Access to health and education is becoming very, very difficult for the poor. Therefore, I have a feeling that it is time we should bring some remedial measures. I will suggest one or two remedial measures. In the 1980s and 1990s, black money was hardly 30 to 40 per cent; but today it is about 50 per cent of the white. We had the Voluntary Disclosure Scheme and many others. Now this Budget does not speak of this. This Budget does not speak of progressive taxes and policies. For example, take the case of China. There, the corporate tax is 25 per cent and, in our case, it is 19.5 per cent. The Finance Minister has said that 30 per cent will be ideal, but when that 30 per cent will be coming, we have no idea. On the one side, there is no transparency and black money is on the increase; on the other side, people are becoming poorer and poorer. It is time we should think of some remedial measures as to how this black money can be harnessed; how the profit centred growth can be minimised to such an extent that there is some rationality even in profit making. Not only that, there should be some transparency also. Why shouldn't the Right to Information Act apply to the private sector as well? There is total immunity to increase black wealth. I will be happy if whole wealth is increased, but there should be some amount of distribution also. There are some advanced countries which have them. Is there any death duty here. There is no death duty. The wealth tax is also not so much here. So, there is need for a large number of remedial measures to mitigate the rigours of a growth economy, which we have been following blindly. Thank you.

KUMAR DEEPAK DAS (Assam): *Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Budget (General) 2008-2009.

The Hon'ble members who have spoken before me have already discussed different issues involving the Budget. Almost all of them have spoken about the waiver of agricultural loan

* The speech was originally delivered in Assamese.

to farmers, they also have discussed the condition leading to suicides by farmers in different parts of the country. Sir, I would like to say a few words about the problems faced by the farmers in the north-east, particularly in Assam. The general budget has been deciding the lives of the common people. The budget proposals for 2008-09 are also a deciding factor in the lives of the common people. But, Sir, I would like to highlight here how this budget will be a failure with regard to the people of Assam.

Sir, farmers have been committing suicide in different parts of the country and relief measures have been taken by waiving off loans. But the problems of farmers in Assam in different. Till date no Finance Minister in independent India has been able to solve the problems of Assamese farmers. They are living his hunger. During floods, they lose their lives and crops. Their agricultural land is swept away by flood. They are bereft of their livelihood. This is not something new. It has been happening before independence, and has been continuing even after 60 years of Independence; but it is unfortunate that not a single Budget has taken note of this serious problem faced by the farmers in Assam.

This is, indeed, very sad; and I would like to submit that farmers in Assam are an unfortunate lot.

Sir, we do not have any border in Assam. We have been fighting with our neighbouring states for maintaining our border. We do not even have international boundary. There is a re-called boundary between India and Bangladesh where people can come into India without any hindrance in the morning and go back in the evening. The irony is, it has been said that our boundary is well protected-border and has been properly sealed. Sir, you must take note of the fact that in other States of India farmers can cultivate throughout the year. But in Assam, people can work in the fields only for six months in a year. The remaining six months they have to live in a very pathetic condition under flood waters.

Therefore, Sir, I would like to submit that the issues before Assam is of different kind. We are facing sky rotating prices everyday. Every other day there are bandhs, killings, dacoities. It gives the impression as if there is competition between extremist groups and security forces to see who can climb up the scale better regarding the number of killings. There is scarcity of potable water, people are devoid of primary health facilities. About 80% of the land is affected by floods. There are such farmlands which are under flood waters even in the dry season. Our farmers are living under such hard conditions. In such a situation if we seek for relief measures in the central budget we do not see much hope. People are wondering whether the budget will be able to arrest the price rise. Thousands of educated unemployed youth are running from pillar to post looking for jobs, but there are no job opportunities for them. In the last fifteen years there are no adequate job opening for them. Sir, in the present budget there is no proposals for offering jobs to those thousands of educated unemployed youths. There is no relief scheme for flood affected people. The farmers of Assam are not going to get any relief. I do not know the situation in other states, but the present budget is not going to help Assam in solving its problems.

Sir, the Central Government has signed many accords with Assam, on August 15, 1985, the then Prime Minister Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi had announced from the ramparts of the Red Fort that the Government would take up some developmental schemes with regard to Assam. Let me give a small example of one of those schemes which was never reflected in the budget proposals. Sir, I am referring to the Ashok paper Mill. That is a small paper industry in Jogighopa. But, after the announcement in 1995 till date that paper mill is not yet reopened.

Even after an accord was signed by the then Prime Minister Late Sh. Rajiv Gandhi, and also his public announcement Ashok Paper Mill is not reopened. I wonder that kind of industrial Policy is followed by the Government that it does not even honour an accord signed by the then Prime Minister.

Sir, I have already spoken about inflation. The Hon'ble Prime Minister and the Hon'ble Railway Minister have said that a non-lapsable reserve fund for Assam will be created from 75% from the general budget and 25% from the railway budget. But in the present budget it is nowhere reflected that the Government will give 75% to Assam. Why is it so? They will help Assam in implementing the national projects planned for the development of the region. But if they do not allocate the promised 75% from the general budget then how will that be possible? Sir, I draw the attention of the Hon'ble Finance Minister in this regard. Sir, 50% of schools in Assam are in a non-provincialised conditions. Usually pre-primary, primary and high schools in Assam are first founded by common people according to their needs. Thereafter the Government takes them over. But, at present, in the last ten years the Government has not given them any grant. The schools are not provincialised. As a result of this factor teachers are committing suicide due to no-payment of their salary. Sir, in other parts of the country farmers are committing suicide. In Assam educated youths, who should be the backbone of the society are in dire condition. They are facing a situation where they find no alternative to suicide. Therefore, sir I hope the Hon'ble Minister will take note of the problems and by provincialising the schools he would provide relief to the teachers.

Sir, you all know about the Kajiranga National Park, the habitat of the famous one-horn rhino. The one-horn rhino is now on the way to extinction. The rhinos are poched. They are not protected. Infiltrators have entered into the Kajiranga National Park and they are occupying vast areas of the forest illegally. They are hand in gloves with poachers. Therefore, I submit, sir, that the park and the rhinos should be given due protection. I also hope that the Government will announce proper scheme and adequate grant for their protection.

Another issue I want to mention is about the problems of small scale tea-planters. In Assam, there are quite a number of small scale tea-planters. They face a lot of financial problem I hope the Hon'ble Minister will announce some relief measures for them.

Sir, I hope the Hon'ble Finance Minister will consider the problems of Assam kindly and help the people of Assam along with the nation on the path to prosperity. With these words I conclude. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, now all the speakers are over. Only three requests are there. I will consider it only if they take the minimum possible time of only three-three minutes. Shri Sahu, only three minutes. Afterwards, there will be no recording.

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: सर, हमारा नाम है?

श्री उपसभापति: सबका नाम है।

SHRI RUDRA NARAYAN PANY: Is it not in schedule?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, it is not in schedule. ...(*Interruptions*)... I know; I know. That is why I said, 'time is the essence'; otherwise, I will have to adjourn the House.

श्री राम नारायण साहू: उपसभापति जी, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया, स्पेशल समय दिया, लेकिन इस खाली सदन को देखकर लगता है कि ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: अब आप बोल दीजिए, सीधे subject पर आ जाइए।

श्री राम नारायण साहू: उपसभापति जी, इस खाली सदन को देखकर लगता है कि—

"देखी जमाने की यारी,
बिछड़े सभी बारी-बारी।"

आज बजट के बारे में इधर के लोग तो पहले तारीफ करना शुरू करते हैं और फिर तारीफ करते-करते नीचे आ जाते हैं, भाषा बदल देते हैं। सबसे बड़ी चीज आज जो है, वह महंगाई है। चाहे बड़ा आदमी हो, मध्यम आदमी हो, छोटा आदमी हो या गरीब से गरीब आदमी हो, वह महंगाई से जूझ रहा है। इन बड़े आदमियों के ऊपर तो कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है, लेकिन जो मध्यम और गरीब आदमी हैं, उनके ऊपर बहुत फर्क पड़ रहा है। आप कोई भी चीज ले लीजिए - सब्जी ले लीजिए, दूध ले लीजिए, दाल ले लीजिए, चावल ले लीजिए, गेहूं ले लीजिए, बाजरा ले लीजिए, कोई भी चीज ले लीजिए, चीजें इतनी महंगी हो गई हैं कि किस तरीके से लोग अपना गुजारा करते हैं, यह वही लोग जानते हैं। वे सफेद कपड़े जरूर पहनते हैं, लेकिन अंदर से वे कैसे अपनी गृहस्थी चलाते हैं, यह वही लोग जानते हैं।

अब कृषि मंत्री जी को यहां होना चाहिए था, वे यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं। आज बजट के बारे में इतनी गंभीर चर्चा चल रही है और उनको यहां होना चाहिए था। यहां जितने भी लोग हैं, सभी किसानों की बात कर रहे हैं और यह भी कह रहे हैं कि किसान आत्महत्याएं कर रहे हैं, लेकिन वे यहां पर मौजूद नहीं हैं।*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is irrelevant. It should be removed from the record. ...(*Interruptions*)... I have removed it from the record. यह जरूरी नहीं है कि हर मंत्री यहां मौजूद हों। हर मंत्री का यहां रहना जरूरी नहीं है ...(व्यवधान)... Every Minister cannot remain present in the House. यह जरूरी नहीं है कि आप जिस मंत्री को चाहते हैं, उन्हें यहां रहना चाहिए ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, that reference should be removed from the record. ...(*Interruptions*)... It should not go on the record.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, I have removed it from the record.

श्री पवन कुमार बंसल: सर, टाइम इतना हो गया है, आप adjourn कर दीजिए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राम नारायण साहू: आज फुटकर बाज़ार की क्या हालत है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री वी॰ नारायणसामी: वी॰ जे॰ पी॰ का टाइम पूरा हो गया है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रूनारायण पाणि: वी॰ जे॰ पी॰ का टाइम अलग है, आप चैलेंज मत करिए, हम आपसे cooperate कर रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: पाणि जी, आप बैठिए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रूनारायण पाणि: आज मंत्री उठकर कहेंगे कि adjourn करा दो, तो करा दीजिए, आपका राज तो ऐसे ही चलेगा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठिए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राम नारायण साहू: मैं महंगाई की बात करना चाहता हूं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस सरकार ने झुग्गी-झोंपड़ी वालों की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। झुग्गी-झोंपड़ियां बढ़ती जा रही हैं, आखिर इनको कैसे खत्म किया जाएगा? हम यह नहीं कहते कि उनको उठाकर फेंक दीजिए। पहले उनके लिए व्यवस्था करिए, उनके लिए इंतजाम कीजिए कि आखिर वे लोग कहां जाएं। हम खुद ही उनका रोना रोते हैं और खुद ही उन्हें बढ़ाते हैं। क्यों बढ़ाते हैं? केवल वोट की खातिर बढ़ाते हैं, केवल वोट की खातिर हम ये सारा काम कर रहे हैं। अगर हम चाहें तो हम जंगल में मंगल कर सकते हैं। शारजाह में

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

7.00 PM

देख लीजिए, दुबई में देख लीजिए, जहां पर पहले खजूर के अलावा कुछ पैदा ही नहीं होता था, आज वहां अंगूर पैदा हो रहा है। अगर हम ईमानदारी के साथ प्रयास करें तो हम बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं। सन् 1964-65 की हालत बहुत खराब थी, 1966 में भी यही हालत थी, मंत्री जी आप तो सब जानते होंगे। क्या हालत थी? कैसा सूखा पड़ा हुआ था। अनाज का अभाव था। अगर कोई ट्रक एक जिले से दूसरे जिले में जाता था तो उसको बीच में ही लूट लिया जाता था। लोग सुबह तीन बजे से, चार बजे से राशन की दुकान पर लाइन लगाते थे, लेकिन लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने अपना पूरा समय लगाते हुए, विवेक लगाते हुए, उस मामले को निपटाया। सन् 1947 में जब देश आजाद हुआ, उस समय लाखों की तादाद में यहां शरणार्थी आए और उन सबको बसाने का काम किया गया। उस काम को इतने अच्छे ढंग से मैनेज किया गया कि आज कोई शरणार्थी नहीं है (समय की घंटी)। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर हम ईमानदारी के साथ काम करें, सिर्फ भाषणबाजी न करें, ईमानदारी के साथ हम उनके ऊपर योजनाएं बनाएं और उनको implement करें तो हर चीज दूर हो सकती है। आज पानी की समस्या सुलझ नहीं रही है, बिजली की समस्या सुधर नहीं रही है। अमीर, अमीर होता जा रहा है और गरीब, गरीब होता जा रहा है। दुनिया का जो सबसे रईस आदमी है, वह भी भारत में रहता है और जो दुनिया का जो सबसे गरीब आदमी है, वह भी भारत में रहता है। कहने के लिए ब्रिटेन की विकास दर बताई, अमेरिका की विकास दर बताई, जापान की विकास दर बताई और भारत की विकास दर बताई, पर हम वह नीति क्यों नहीं अपनाते हैं। ये केवल क्रेडिट के पीछे पड़े रहते हैं। हम केवल क्रेडिट में उनकी नकल करें, एक कहावत है कि "भरा हो पेट तो संसार जगमगाता है और लगी हो भूख तो ईमान डगमगाता है", इसलिए हमको पहले पेट के ऊपर ध्यान रखना चाहिए और इसके बाद और सारी बातों के ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिए। आपने मुझे समय दिया, इसके लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री कृष्ण लाल वाल्मीकि (राजस्थान): धन्यवाद, उपसभापति महोदय।

श्री उपसभापति: वाल्मीकि जी, सिर्फ तीन मिनट है।

श्री कृष्ण लाल वाल्मीकि: महोदय, मैं वर्ष 2008-09 के बजट पर बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। जैसा मैंने बजट पढ़ा है, यह बजट एक सौ प्रतिशत आंकड़ों की भ्रमबाजी है। बजट में सिंचाई योजनाओं के लिए 30 हजार करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान किया गया है, लेकिन असलियत यह है कि यह मात्र 5 हजार करोड़ रुपए का ही है, क्योंकि 15 हजार करोड़ रुपए तो विश्व बैंक के कर्ज की किस्त चुकाने में चले जाएंगे। सिंचाई व्यवस्था को दुरुस्त करने के लिए कम से कम 4 लाख करोड़ रुपए चाहिए और सरकार मात्र 5 हजार करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान कर रही है। इससे क्या होगा? देश की लगभग 60 प्रतिशत कृषि वर्षा पर आधारित है, 40 प्रतिशत कृषि सिंचाई से होती है। सरकार कृषि समस्या की जड़ को खत्म नहीं कर रही है, जिससे अनाज का उत्पादन प्रति वर्ष कम होता जा रहा है। यही स्थिति रही तो कुछ समय के बाद भारत में अनाज की भारी कमी होने लगेगी। उसके बाद अमीर देशों से अनाज आयात करना पड़ेगा, जिसकी शुरुआत भी हो गई है। 1970-80 के दशक में जीडीपी 6 प्रतिशत थी, तब रोजगार दर 3 प्रतिशत के लगभग थी। इस समय जीडीपी 8 प्रतिशत की दर से बढ़ रही है और रोजगार की दर मात्र 1.5 प्रतिशत है। तब लेबर फोर्स 1.4 प्रतिशत थी और अब यह 3.8 प्रतिशत है। बेरोजगारी जनसंख्या के अनुपात से ज्यादा बढ़ी है और बढ़ रही है, जिसका सरकार दावा कर रही है। उद्योग बाजार और रहन-सहन में दिन-दूना और रात-चौगुना होते विकास से भले ही देश चकाचौंध हो रहा हो, केन्द्रीय बजट के पहले आए 2007-08 के आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण के मुताबिक कृषि उत्पादन, खाद्यान्नों की उपलब्धता और खाद्यान्न भंडारण, तीनों में देश फिसड्डी साबित हुआ है। देश की आर्थिक समृद्धि में नींव की हैसियत रखने वाली खेती की बदहाली, सकल घरेलू उत्पादन में इसके लगातार घटते योगदान से उजागर होती है। वर्ष 1982-83 में यह आंकड़ा 36.4 प्रतिशत था, जो 2006-07 में घटकर 18.5 प्रतिशत रह गया है। मुद्रास्फीति खेती का सीधा असर आम लोगों की थाली पर पड़ा है। वर्ष 1990 से 2000 के दौरान खेती का उत्पादन 1.2 प्रतिशत की दर से घटा है। 2007-08 में खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन लक्ष्य से घटकर 22 लाख टन और तिलहन का उत्पादन 28 लाख टन कम होने का अनुमान है।

वित्त मंत्री RFDF को बजट में दिखाकर अपनी पीठ थपथपा रहे हैं, जबकि RFDF बजट का हिस्सा ही नहीं है। जब बीस वर्ष पहले ही रिज़र्व बैंक ने बैंकों को हिदायत दे दी और आज भी दे रखी है कि पूरी जमा राशि का बीस प्रतिशत ग्रामीणों के कर्ज़ के लिए है और वह उसमें जाएगा। वह नहीं होता, तो बैंक वह राशि नाबार्ड को दे देते हैं। नाबार्ड उस रकम को राज्यों को कर्ज़ के रूप में देता है, तो यह तो बजट का हिस्सा ही नहीं है, ऐसे में वित्त मंत्री कैसे इसे बजट का

हिस्सा बता रहे हैं? इसी तरह से वित्त मंत्री जी ने कुछ बड़ी कंपनियों को एक हज़ार करोड़ का लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए कंपनी को सिस्टर कंपनियों के मार्फत विदेशों से मशीनें आदि मंगाकर बेचने पर छूट दे दी। दिल्ली में बिजली सप्लाई करने वाली कंपनी ने विदेश से आठ हज़ार करोड़ रुपए का सामान मंगाकर, बारह हज़ार करोड़ रुपए में बेचा हुआ दिखा कर, चार हज़ार करोड़ रुपया बना लिया, जिसकी जांच की मांग हो रही है, तो वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस तरह के अवैध काम को भी अब जायज़ बना उस कंपनी को लाभ पहुंचा दिया। महोदय, महंगाई की दर को काबू करने की सभी कवायदों के बावजूद इसका बढ़ना लगातार जारी है। सकल उत्पादन मूल्य सूचकांक पर आधारित मुद्रा-स्फीति की दर चावल, पेट्रोल और डीज़ल जैसी वस्तुओं के महंगा होने से 0.54 प्रतिशत घटकर 16 फरवरी को समाप्त हुए सप्ताह में 4.89 प्रतिशत पर पहुंच गई। आलोच अवधि में मुद्रा-स्फीति की दर 0.54 की बढ़ोत्तरी, चना, चावल, मूंग, पेट्रोल, डीज़ल, तारकोल, खांडसारी, मूंगफली, पिनूला, तेल और जौ आदि के महंगा होने से दर्ज की। इस महंगाई ने आम आदमी की कमर ही तोड़ डाली है।

महोदय, कृषि ऋण माफी और छठे वेतन आयोग की सिफारिशों के लिए बजट में कोई प्रावधान नहीं रखा गया है और अपनी समस्याओं को आने वाली सरकारों पर थोपा गया है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने कृषि ऋण माफी और छठे वेतन आयोग के संदर्भ में किसी प्रावधान का उल्लेख नहीं कर पूरी तरह से गुमराह करने वाला बजट पेश किया है। इन दोनों मदों में एक बहुत बड़ी राशि की जरूरत होगी। ..(समय की घंटी)... बजट में जो पारदर्शिता दिखाई जानी थी, उसे नहीं दिखाया गया। ऐसा न करके ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री कृष्ण लाल वाल्मीकि: वित्त मंत्री जी ने शुद्ध रूप से राजनीतिक बजट पेश किया है और इसके लिए ऐसा बजट चुना है कि उन्हें इस बजट की अनुपूरक मांगों को संसद के सामने रखना ही न पड़े। वित्त मंत्री जी ने सच्चर समिति द्वारा चिन्हित ...(व्यवधान)... के विकास के लिए अलग से प्रावधान करके बजट का साम्प्राधिकरण किया है। अभी तक लोगों को मालूम ही नहीं था कि देश में कौन सा जिला मुस्लिम बाहुल्य है। ऐसा करके उन्होंने असंतोष का बीज बोया है तथा वे धर्म के आधार पर केंद्रीय अर्द्धसैनिक बलों व अल्पसंख्यकों की नियुक्ति चाहते हैं, जबकि देश का संविधान इसकी इजाज़त नहीं देता। इसी तरह वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बजट में अनुसूचित जातियों में जो जातियां देश की मुख्य धारा में नहीं जुड़ पाई हैं, उनके लिए भी विकास-योजनाओं का खुलासा नहीं किया है, जबकि सरकार अनुसूचित जाति की हितैषी होने का ढिंढोरा पीटती है। अत: यह बजट सही मायने में चुनावी बजट है। महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

श्री सदानारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा): उपसभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रीय सहमति अधिक समय में आवश्यक होती है। वर्तमान संसदीय कार्य की दृष्टि से हम सहमति से यह संसद चला रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप subject पर आइए।

श्री सदानारायण पाणि: महोदय, यह बजट अब पारित हो जाएगा। वित्त मंत्री, वित्त राज्य मंत्री जो हमारे सामने बैठे हुए हैं, वे बैंकिंग सैक्टर को भी देखते हैं और बीमा सैक्टर भी उनके पास है। मैं इस बजट भाषण के माध्यम से उनका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगा कि यह एल॰आई॰सी॰ जो है, जो भारतीय जीवन बीमा निगम है, उसको घाटे में चलाकर फिर से घरेलू बीमा कंपनी मार्केट में आ जाएंगी, उसकी साजिश हो रही है। कृपा करके, उसकी ओर ध्यान देंगे। जो प्राइवेट इंश्योरेंस कंपनी है, उसमें 26 परसेंट का एफ॰ डी॰ आई॰ कैप है, उसको हटाकर उससे ज्यादा एफ॰ डी॰ आई॰ आएगा प्राइवेट बीमा कंपनी में, तो एल॰ आई॰ सी॰ में प्रॉब्लम होगी, इसकी ओर भी माननीय वित्त मंत्री कृपा करके ध्यान देंगे। पब्लिक सैक्टर की सुरक्षा के बारे में कल वृंदा जी कह रही थीं कि चार लाख करोड़ का रिज़र्व फंड पब्लिक सैक्टर में है। हाल ही में हमारे एक राष्ट्रीय नेता, रूलिंग पार्टी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी उड़ीसा गए थे और वहां पर दो Guest Houses में रुके, वह नालको का था। NALCO is the pride. नालको को नवरत्न की मान्यता देने में देर नहीं की जानी चाहिए। नालको के पास आज पांच हज़ार करोड़ का रिज़र्व फंड है कम से कम जो पब्लिक सेक्टर आपको मुनाफा देता है, मुनाफा देने वाले पब्लिक सेक्टर का डिसइनवेस्टमेंट कतई नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। दूसरे पब्लिक सेक्टर, जो लॉस मेकिंग हैं, उनके बारे में आप क्या सोचते हैं, वह बात अलग है, लेकिन प्रॉफिट मेकिंग पब्लिक सैक्टर का डिसइनवेस्टमेंट नहीं होना चाहिए। वहां पर एक व्यवस्था है कि जो executives हैं, उनको distributable profit sharing के तहत प्रॉफिट का कुछ हिस्सा दिया जाता है। यह टेक्नीकल बात है, माननीय वित्त राज्य मंत्री बहुत विद्वान हैं, वह उनके समझ में जरूर

आएगा कि distributable profit sharing क्या है-distributable profit sharing के तहत executives को प्रॉफिट का कुछ हिस्सा दिया जाता है। महोदय, छठे वेतन आयोग के बारे में कहा गया है। छठे वेतन आयोग की रिपोर्ट जल्द से जल्द आनी चाहिए। हम जब यहां से बाहर जाते हैं तो कर्मचारी हमें पूछते हैं कि साहब, छठे वेतन आयोग का क्या हाल है। छठे वेतन आयोग के 31 मार्च तक आने के बारे में बजट भाषण में कहा गया है। उसकी रिपोर्ट आ जानी चाहिए लेकिन यह नहीं कहा जाना चाहिए कि छठे वेतन आयोग के आधार पर फिर inflation होगा। इसके प्रति भी सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए। छठे वेतन आयोग के आने के बाद जो contract labour है, जो असंगठित क्षेत्र है, उस क्षेत्र के जितने साथी हैं, मज़दूर हैं, छठे वेतन आयोग की सिफारिशों के साथ तालमेल करके उनकी न्यूनतम मजदूरी तय की जानी चाहिए। श्री अर्जुनसेन गुप्ता, हमारे सदन के सदस्य हैं और संयोग से हमारी लेबर स्टैंडिंग कमेटी के भी सदस्य हैं। अगर आज हम रिपोर्ट देखें तो सारी दुनिया में एक प्रकार का विषय आया है कि 39 करोड़ लोग अनऑरग्नाइज्ड सेक्टर के हैं और अगर उनके घर-परिवार के लोगों को मिलाया जाए तो 78 या 80 करोड़ लोग ऐसे हैं। माननीय दत्तोपम ठेंगड़ी कभी इस सदन में सदस्य रहा करते थे। वे कहा करते थे कि आय विषमता समाप्त हो, एक-दस का अनुपात हो। ...(समय की घंटी) क्या हम सपने में भी कभी सोच सकते हैं कि देश में आय की विषमता समाप्त होगी? सबसे अधिक आय पाने वाले की आय अगर सौ रुपए होती है तो सबसे कम आय पाने वाले व्यक्ति की आय दस रुपए होगी— क्या हम कभी यह सोच सकते हैं? आज सबसे ज्यादा इनकम, यहां पर कहा जाता है, कि कारपोरेट सेक्टर, प्राइवेट सेक्टर के मालिक लोगों की है। एक मिनट में उनकी आय 40 लाख रुपए है और दिन भर काम करने के बाद एक वर्कर की आय होती है-आधा डॉलर। इस प्रकार की आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने में राजनीति नहीं लायी जानी चाहिए। इसमें कोई यूएनपीए, एनडीए या यूपीए नहीं होना चाहिए और देश के गरीब लोगों की भलाई के बारे में सोचा जाना चाहिए। महोदय, पिछले सत्र में सोशल सिक्योरिटी के बारे में, अनऑरग्नाइज्ड सेक्टर के बारे में बिल आ गया है, हमने उस स्टैंडिंग कमेटी में काम किया। मैं सरकार से गुजारिश करता हूं कि एग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर में, जो खेतिहर मजदूर है, वास्तव में कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो मजदूरी करता है, उस व्यक्ति के बारे में, उसकी सोशल सिक्योरिटी के बारे में भी बिल लाया जाना चाहिए। महोदय, मैं उड़ीसा से आता हूं। उड़ीसा के प्रति आप भेदभाव मत करिए। इस बजट में उड़ीसा में एक आईआईटी देने के लिए आप प्रावधान करिए। इसमें संशोधन करके करिए या जैसे भी करिए, मुझे नहीं पता, लेकिन आपको उसे करना होगा क्योंकि वित्त राज्य मंत्री जिस राज्य से आते हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: आपकी बात को वे सुन रहे हैं।

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: जिस पार्टी से आते हैं, उस पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय महामंत्री ने उड़ीसा जाकर क्या-क्या युगांतकारी बयान नहीं दिए। उनके बयान को अगर देखेंगे तो लगेगा कि राजनीति में सुधार होना चाहिए। इस प्रकार के नौजवान नेता ने अगर उड़ीसा जाकर बयान दिया हुआ है ...(व्यवधान)... सर, वे एचआरडी की स्टैंडिंग कमेटी के मैंबर हैं-आईआईटी एचआरडी के अंडर आता है, आपको आईआईटी के लिए पैसा देना चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त उड़ीसा में सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी के लिए भी आपको पैसा देना चाहिए। जैसे टाइगर्स के लिए कुछ फंड का एलोकेशन किया गया है।

श्री उपसभापति: कितने प्वाइंट्स हो गए हैं?

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: हाथी का उपद्रव होता है।

श्री उपसभापति: आईआईटी से हाथी पर चले गए हैं।

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: विशेषकर आंध्र प्रदेश और उड़ीसा में हाथी का जो उपद्रव हो रहा है इससे बहुत से गरीब लोग मरते हैं। नारायणसामी जी, इसको आप मज़ाक में मत लीजिए।

श्री उपसभापति: वे आपकी तारीफ कर रहे है, मज़ाक क्यों बोल रहे हैं, वे तो आपकी तारीफ कर रहे हैं।

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: महोदय, मैं गंभीरता से कहना चाहता हूं कि हाथियों का वहां पर उपद्रव होता है। आप climate change पर चिंता व्यक्त करते हैं। इसके साथ-साथ यह भी होना चाहिए कि अगर देश में हाथियों की संख्या बढ़ती है... । अगर ऐसा हो जाता है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... ठीक है।

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: ये गांव में गरीब लोगों को मारते है। जो elephant behaviour है, अगर उसमें परिवर्तन होता है, तो आप उसको देखें।...(समय की घंटी)... गांव के गरीब आदमियों को सुविधा होनी चाहिए। अगर आवश्यक हो तो ...(व्यवधान)... उस पर कुछ कार्य होना चाहिए। आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the Messages from the Lok Sabha.

MESSAGES FROM LOK SABHA

The Appropriation Bill, 2008.

The Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 2008.

The Karnataka Appropriation Bill, 2008.

The Karnataka Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 2008.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:—

(I)

"In Accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Appropriation Bill, 2008, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 2008. The speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

(II)

"In Accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 2008, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 2008. The speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

(III)

"In Accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Karnataka Appropriation Bill, 2008, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 2008. The speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

(IV)

"In Accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Karnataka Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 2008, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 2008. The speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

Sir, I lay a copy each of the Bills on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate on the General Budget concludes today. The reply will be on Monday.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on 17th March, 2008.

The House then adjourned at sixteen minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 17th March, 2008.

GMGIPMRND—3136RS—09-01-2009.